

California Connected show unplugs PBS

california JOURNAL

JUNE 2002

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a State Net Publication

The Middle of Somewhere

**The Inland Empire
is no longer a lonely
desert. But whatever
it's going to be, it's
not there yet.**

\$3.95 U.S.



Leading the world.

Five Important Facts:

1

California has the second lowest adult smoking rate in the nation. Adult smoking prevalence tumbled from 22.8 percent in 1988 to 17.4 percent in 2001.

2

Fewer teenagers smoke in California than almost anywhere else in the nation. Youth smoking prevalence fell to 5.9 percent in 2001, from 11 percent in 1994 (the first year it was reported).

3

Those that still smoke are smoking substantially less. Consumption of tobacco products has decreased by 60 percent since the program began, from 126.6 packs per capita in 1987–1988 to 50.6 packs per person in 2000–2001.

4

Secondhand smoke's deadly impact has been reduced. 93 percent of California's workforce is no longer exposed to deadly secondhand smoke in enclosed workplaces. In addition, 73 percent of all Californians—smokers and nonsmokers—voluntarily prohibit smoking in their homes.

5

California taxpayers are saving money. The program-attributable reduction in the number of California smokers between 1990 and 1998, has saved an estimated \$8.4 billion in smoking-attributable direct and indirect costs. In avoided direct medical costs alone, the program will save an estimated \$3.02 billion dollars, or \$3.62 for every dollar spent on the program. Short-term savings from avoided cancer, heart disease and low birthweight deliveries have more than offset the cost of operating the program.

CALIFORNIA DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH SERVICES

In 1988 when California voters approved Proposition 99—the Tobacco Tax Initiative, they turned the key to start a revolution that has transformed our state's public health system. From the beginning, Californians were promised that the Proposition 99 tobacco use prevention campaign would be "the most ambitious and innovative campaign of its kind in the world," and it has not disappointed. California has led the way for the rest of the nation and the world, changing forever how tobacco use and tobacco industry marketing are looked upon by society.

For more than a decade, California's Tobacco Control Program has impacted the health of every Californian through an aggressive statewide media campaign and comprehensive grassroots programs designed and implemented by local health departments, community coalitions, community-based organizations, regional and statewide ethnic networks, voluntary health organizations and schools. Together, these groups have saved lives and improved Californian's health.

Despite these successes, tobacco use continues to take a terrible toll—physically, emotionally and financially. This year alone, more than 38,000 people in California will die prematurely from a tobacco-related disease. Only by working together, one day at a time, can we expect to continue our gains against Big Tobacco and protect millions of Californians from the harmful impact of tobacco use.

Waste Not!

Green Power. Green Crops.



From the environmental stewards who bring you milk

Everyone knows California dairy farms produce nutritious milk – milk that also goes into making the state's world-famous cheese, ice cream and other dairy products. What you may not know is that **California dairies are also pioneering new, renewable energy technology.**

Through public-private partnerships and millions of dollars of investment in programs administered by dairy industry groups and the California Energy Commission, dairies are testing "digester" technologies to convert manure into electricity. This environmentally friendly, renewable energy source will help meet

our state's energy needs while improving air quality. Creating green energy is just one positive environmental contribution from dairies.

Dairy manure is also a rich source of organic nutrients, which reduces reliance on synthetic fertilizers. Hundreds of thousands of acres of green feed crops, such as alfalfa and corn, are grown on California dairy farms.

These crops naturally produce oxygen, clean our air, and create valuable habitat for hundreds of species. Much like nature itself, dairy farms encompass a cycle of renewal and revitalization. Dairy

manure is used to fertilize crops, which provide feed for cows, which produce milk for people—and fuel to generate energy. **Not bad for an industry that also produces 122,000 jobs and \$17.5 billion in economic activity for the state.**



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california JOURNAL

June 2002

Volume XXXIII, Number 6

Upfront

Talking Points

California dreamin'

The Bottom Line

Enforcing color blindness

By Susan Rasky

D.C. Perspective

Bush goes hiking

By Dana Willie

Cal Watch

Fencing with flowers

Naturally lopsided

More than a half century ago, historian and author Carey McWilliams wrote: "In California, everything seems to be reversed, to occur out of the natural order of events, to be upside down or opsided." Even then, McWilliams felt that it was California's lot to be always changing — and leading. And as this issue describes, we are once

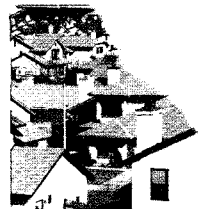
again in a period of upside down or lopsided natural order. We chose the Inland Empire for our annual regional close-up because it's on the frontier of the latest changes. But as Hans Johnson writes in his story, Moving Around, this historic moment is being felt everywhere as California's varied regions grow farther apart. Fittingly, Lisa Plendl's story [Connecting Californians] is about a hopeful and cutting edge effort to help them work together.

David Lesher

A home in the empire

There still isn't an icon for the Inland Empire. And there isn't one culture, there are many. It's an area passing through adolescence, trying out a lot of new things but still uncertain about what it will become.

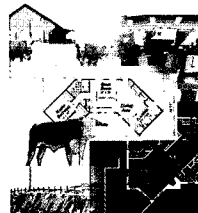
By Dan Bernstein



From cow pens to palaces

Poor planning in the midst of rapid growth can leave lasting scars. Inland Empire officials have undertaken the most expensive local planning effort in state history. But at the same time, they've fast-tracked new developments.

By Paul Shigley and William Fulton



Two counties in a pod

San Bernardino and Riverside counties have embarked on a buddy relationship, hoping they can do better together what is often hard to do alone — like attract regional transportation and job centers.

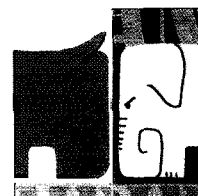
By Andy McCue



Ruling the inland kingdom

The Inland Empire is as friendly to Republicans as any place in California. But it wasn't always that way. And the changes are not over yet.

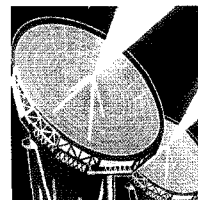
By David Lesher



Connecting Californians

If you think coverage of public affairs on the airwaves is a lost cause, "California Connected," a new weekly public TV program, just might change your mind.

By Lisa Plendl



Connerly makes his case

Having just collected over 1 million signatures to qualify his Racial Privacy Initiative, Ward Connerly talks about why race shouldn't matter.

Interview with *California Journal* editors



Moving around

California regions are growing apart. And even though the state gained 4 million people in the last decade, an unprecedented number moved out. New census data reveals historic shifts in the Golden State.

By Hans P. Johnson



Cover by Dagmar Thompson

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An incomplete grade.

California education received a singular honor last month when a Southern California high school teacher — Chauncey L. Veatch III — was named the national “teacher of the year.” Veatch, who toils in the Riverside County community of Thermal, was presented with his award by no less than President George W. Bush in a ceremony at the White House. A retired Army colonel, Veatch began teaching in 1995. But in all the hoopla and hurrah surrounding Veatch’s award, one little item was overlooked. His political experience, and he has plenty. Not only did he work for former Assembly Speaker Bob Monagan back when Ronald Reagan was governor of California, according to the *Journal’s* “Almanac of California Government & Politics, 1983-84,” Chauncey L. Veatch III also served as director of the state Department of Alcohol and Drug Programs under then-Republican Governor George Deukmejian. As the 1989-90 edition of “California Political Alma-



nac” shows, Veatch was still at his post at the end of the Deukmejian administration. None of his governmental experience was noted in press releases or press coverage; not until *The Sacramento Bee* mentioned it in passing at the end of April. Veatch told *The Bee* that he wasn’t

trying to hide his connection to a GOP administration, or to state government. It just wasn’t relevant, he explained.

Congress Mom.

Family time is precious, especially for congresswomen with families on one coast and political obligations on another. That’s why Lois Capps, a Democrat from Santa Barbara, turned down an otherwise prime invitation to help U.S. Senator Barbara Boxer unveil her new wilderness bill recently. Capps had already set aside the day to celebrate her daughter’s birthday at a picnic in San Francisco’s Crissy Field, a restored shoreline with a commanding view of the Golden Gate Bridge. But as Capps played mom for a day, dicing onions and readying a chicken for the barbecue, the sight of a public address system mounted atop a temporary stage caught her eye. When Capps walked over to check out a gathering crowd, to her surprise, there on stage was Boxer and a fleet of elected officials to kick off the bill. The two made eye contact, and Boxer quickly motioned Capps to join her on stage. Dressed in a white T-shirt and wrinkled blue jeans, Capps gave a quick and energetic pitch in support of the bill, an effort to re-designate 2.5 million acres of national forest in California as wilderness. Speaking obligation fulfilled, Capps slipped back to her family picnic table and carried on with dicing onions for her special day. 🏠

Corrections. The California map in our May 2002 issue overstated MTBE contamination. Authorities have tested more than 9,000 water wells and found 54 to be tainted by MTBE. All the tainted wells have been closed.

A chart in the same issue illustrating state revenues and spending during the recent years of budget surplus was prepared by the Legislative Analyst’s Office. The source was not identified in the magazine

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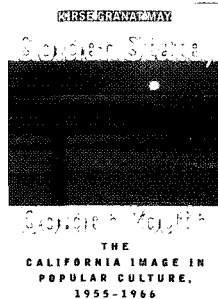
From the bookshelf

Golden State, Golden Youth:
The California Image in Popular Culture,
 By Kirse Granat May
 University of North Carolina
 Press

That California is the birthplace of teen culture comes as no surprise. The Beach Boys crooning about California girls; Annette Funicello, first as a Mouseketeer and later as the star of Hollywood's "Muscle Beach Party," both helped sell the California dream attracting thousands of newcomers as residents and tourists. But as Kirse Granat May argues in her book, these were not happenstance creations. Rather, prior to the mid-1960s, they were carefully contrived images by commercial concerns to help quell fears of young people liable to go over the emotional edge after the traumas of World War II. Later, student uprisings, particularly the Free Speech Movement at the University of California, Berkeley in 1964, and then a year later the Watts riots in Los Angeles, sparked alarm that California's draw as the place of surfer girls and sunshine was even shakier.

Enter Ronald Reagan and his "Reagan girls"—young, slim blondes in red beanies and outfits designed by Nancy Reagan. These teens accompanied the campaigning actor in 1966, a visual antidote to trouble-making college students who raised the ire of Reagan and provided fodder for his election platform. In so doing, he helped restore the idea that the good life was still here for the asking, despite the seemingly unsettled times.

In fact, says May, the California dream has always had a dark side. But with a little help from Hollywood—and one of its actors turned politician—the Golden State's charms have been forever mythologized.



Legal Watch:

Always punish good deeds

Sacramento County is one jurisdiction that uses electronic cops to nab red-light offenders. Cameras, mounted at key locations, snap pictures of cars as they enter an intersection, and those that do so more than .2 seconds after the light has turned from yellow to red have violated the law. But last month, county District Attorney Jan Scully dismissed all pending tickets based on evidence supplied by these gizmo-cops. Seems some of the numbers may have been improperly "rounded." In other words, .11 seconds may have been reported as .2 seconds, causing the city or county to issue an electronic ticket. The fact that some non-violations may have been "rounded" into

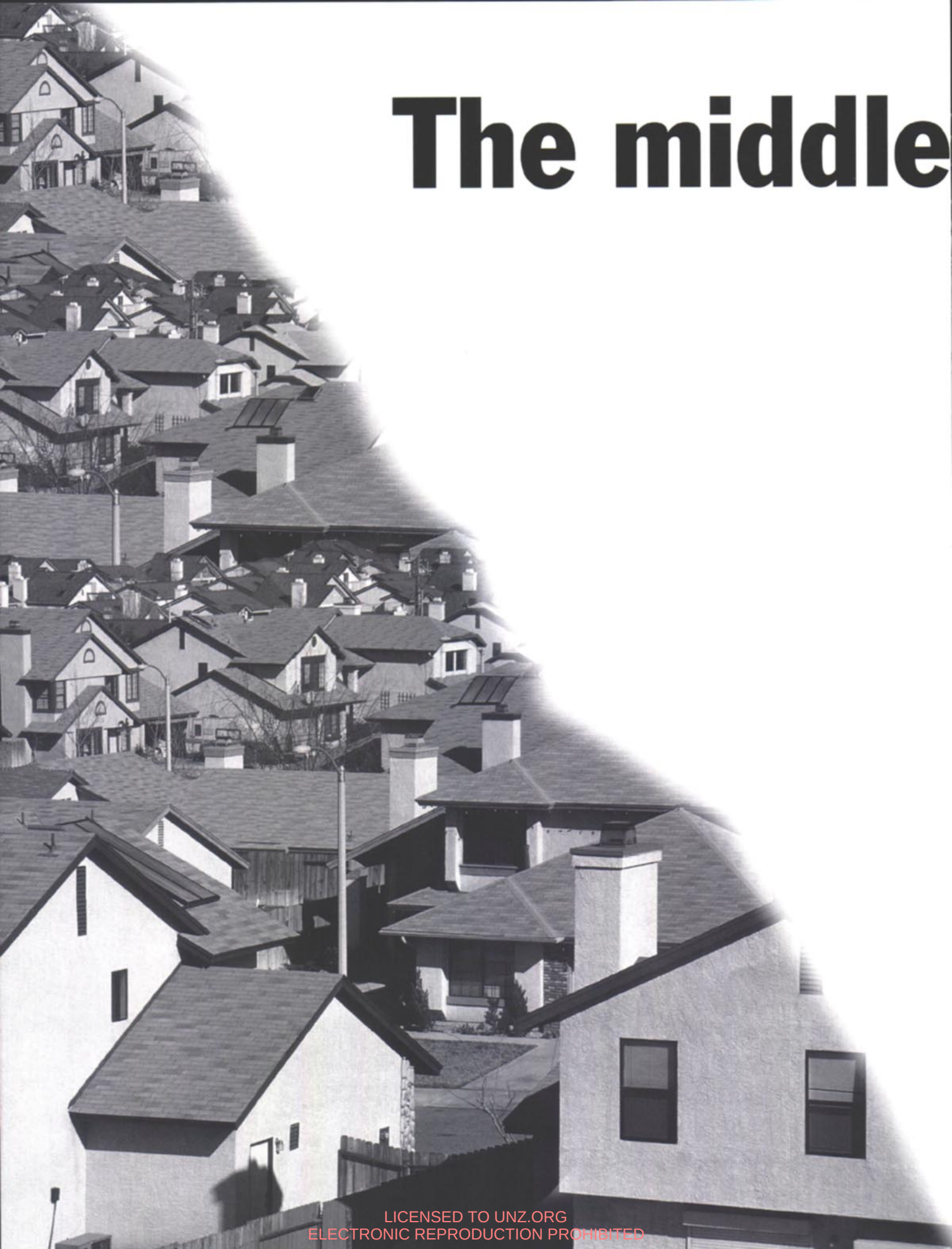
crimes cast a cloud over the entire program. To make matters worse, the company that supplies the cameras is paid per-conviction rather than a flat fee—casting another cloud over how accurately the cameras are calibrated. At the very least, the validity of the "evidence" was in question; hence, Scully's decision. Caught in the middle

are those—including the executive editor of this magazine—who accepted the evidence at face value and paid their fines. Had those tickets been contested, they, too, would have been dismissed. But because they were paid—"adjudicated," in the eyes of the legal system—those who took the word of the county in good faith are stuck having fessed up to a crime that may not have been a crime. As the saying goes, "No good deed goes unpunished."

Quotables.....

"Traders could buy power at \$250 and sell it for \$1,200. Doing so appears not to present any problems, other than a public relations risk arising from the fact that such exports may have contributed to California's declaration of a Stage 2 Emergency yesterday.

Internal memo by Intelco lawyers, December 5, 2000



The middle

of somewhere

Think of the Inland Empire as a work in progress. While moving vans keep rolling in from neighboring counties with thousands of newcomers each year, the fastest-growing region in the state is still coming of age. Though few icons, landmarks or places of note define its singular personality, the Inland Empire is at once a collection of mushrooming new towns, quaint Victorian neighborhoods and an emerging melting pot of ethnic diversity.

As the fine people of Los Angeles were building their new rail link between the ports of Long Beach and LA recently, they realized the junkyards, rooster farms and scrap metal scavengers that rooted in this sacred transportation corridor would have to go. But go where? Where could these evicteds possibly relocate?

Jim Wiley, the project's right-of-way manager, gave this some thought. "To the extent that such places exist," he declared, "they are probably in Riverside."

To the extent that absolute ignorance about a city of 260,000 can be distilled into a single quotation, this is probably your prototype. The city of Riverside has such a stingy sign law that it practically requires Divine Intervention to advertise fried chicken. Live roosters do not stand a chance. Junkyards and metal scavengers are not aggressively courted, either.

But Wiley's view of Riverside is probably as understandable as it is uninformed. Riverside and San Bernardino counties, which together comprise the mythical Inland Empire (a shamelessly boosterish moniker credited to a Riverside County supervisor who waged a futile campaign for an "Inland Empire" postmark), are having a roller coaster of a time trying to understand *themselves* — how will they evolve and mature as wave after human wave churns toward them.

If the Inland Empire had an emperor, he would be in the throes of a pimply, gawky, squeaky adolescent growth spurt. Instead, we have a full range of electeds, bureaucrats, consultants, lobbyists, gadflies and citizen activists who are trying to figure out how to absorb the hordes that have been rolling into the empire for the last two decades. There is no end in sight.

For now, new arrivals are being shoe-horned into "integrated plans" and "Blueprints for Tomorrow" and "community visioning." They arrive from Orange County on one freeway, but their children might end up commuting to Orange County on a brand new freeway. They might settle in a city romanticized in the classic hit, "Route 66" but witness the day downtown San Bernardino is flooded by man-made lakes designed by civic boosters to rinse away urban blight.

The Inland Empire — a coming-of-age story now playing on California's newest (Go East!) frontier — is being planned, visioned, integrated and saturated by well-meaning people who have no better idea than anyone else what the future holds. Yet, they are determined to play a role in shaping it. They feel they *must*. For doing nothing would be irresponsible, if not disastrous. But ask them to describe their vision and expect a chorus of dissonance. Perhaps because we do not have an emperor, you will never hear one voice that speaks for the Inland Empire.

By Dan
Bernstein



The heyday of citrus farming in San Bernardino was celebrated with festivals and posters. Courtesy of the California State Library.

Life in the Inland Empire is actually the story of *millions* of people living in dozens of cities and unincorporated outposts of such diverse character, geography, history, charm and abrasiveness that it would be futile to attempt to describe the “typical” Inland Empirian, let alone the “typical” Inland Empirian way of life.

What we’ve got here is a basin with roughly 3.3 million people, bisected up and down and sideways by interstate highways. Its population has jumped 22 percent in the last 10 years to nearly equal Oregon’s. And its ethnic diversity is changing even more quickly. Nearly four of every five newcomers in the last decade were Hispanic and the black population grew 57 percent.

We Inland Empirians are situated between a string of mountain ranges that offer breathtaking snow-capped views in the winter. In the summer, these mountains trap smog (we call it “haze”) — much of it manufactured in Los Angeles.

We hold the push-pull distinctions of having two of the eight fastest-growing counties, the worst ozone pollution and the most endangered species (from plants to gnat-catchers to bighorn sheep) in the continental United States.

Each working day, we dispatch 400,000 commuters to Orange, Los Angeles and San Diego counties. Some leave as early as 4:30 a.m. — and still get gridlocked. Some don’t return home until 8 p.m. The exodus totals less than a third of our work force, and there are signs that drain is slowing as more skilled jobs are being created behind the empire’s mythical moat. But we will always be one of Southern

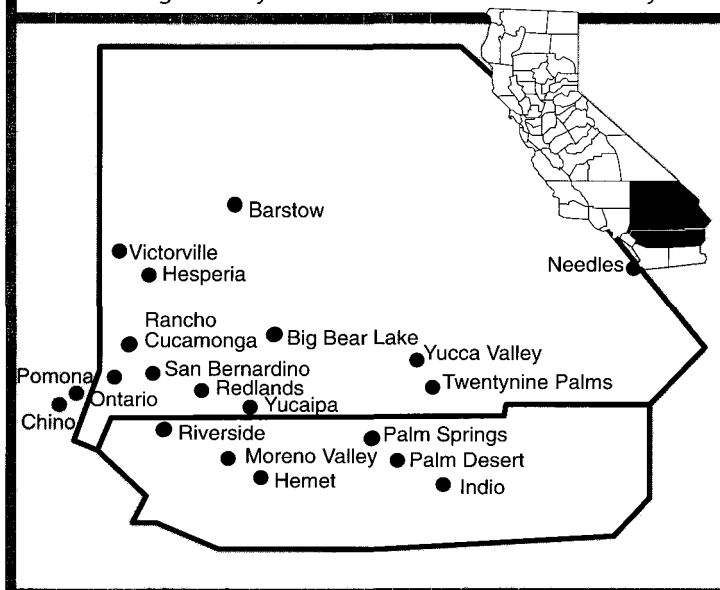
Population is **3.3** million and increases at a rate of nearly **100,000** residents per year. The overall population is equal to the size of Oregon. Nearly **50,000** new jobs are added every year, more than in any other region in the state.

California’s leading exporters of warm human bodies.

Inside the Inland Empire roils a stewpot of diversity. Though we dwell in the shadow of LA’s hydra-headed media market, we are not of Los Angeles — and it’s no heart-breaker. Perhaps because of our rapid growth, commuter culture and racial and ethnic mix, we are every bit as cohesive as Los Angeles, which is to say not very. We have no over-arching icons — no Hollywood Bowl, Dodger Stadium or Coliseum — but we’re not searching for one. Though we think hard about our economic future and sometimes fret about the quality of our increasingly crowded lives, forging a unique and uniform Inland Empire identity is not on our radar. Our identity, for the moment, is simple to describe: We have none. We have many.

Some Inland Empire families — black, white and Hispanic — date back more than a century. Some date back six months. Some live in tree-lined neighborhoods dotted by old Victorians, which used to be the “big” houses that towered above rows of citrus groves. Some live in virginal neighborhoods that have cornered the worldwide market on fiberglass red-tile roofs. The Inland Empire is increas-

The Inland Empire encompasses 28,000 square miles reaching from Orange and LA counties on the west to the California border on the east. This vast region shares borders with two states, Nevada and Arizona, and shares a border on the south with San Diego County and on the north with Tulare County.



Sources for the graphic statistics in this article are the Inland Empire Economic Partnership and Economics & Politics Inc.

ingly awash in new homes, each with an anemic front-yard sapling and the faint promise of a neighborhood library.

The empire devolves into fiefdoms, with the clean-living Seventh Day Adventists and a pioneering heart-surgery hospital occupying the small San Bernardino County city of Loma Linda. Nearby Fontana, once a tough steel-mill-and-Hell's-Angels town, now worries whether new townhouses with one-year leases will ensure neighborhood stability. Redlands, picturesque, snooty and prone to averting its eyes at the mere mention of poorer cities like Rialto and Colton, revels in a rich 114-year heritage of citrus farming and culture. The gorgeous Smiley Library and well-regarded Lincoln Shrine betray an educational bent whose roots run as deep as citrus itself.

Ontario, with its international airport, new convention center, sprawling retail/entertainment Ontario Mills, appetite for tilt-up architecture and proximity to key interstates and Los Angeles, has become the Inland Empire's commercial beachhead. Once-comatose Corona has morphed into Orange County East, with Orange County refugees crossing the county line in search of new homes, more room and lower prices. Between 1990 and 2000, Corona's population nearly doubled to 133,000. Unincorporated land ringing the city has erupted with housing tracts, causing such a strain on roads, parks and libraries that Corona officials threaten to secede from Riverside County.

Farther south on I-15, Temecula and Murrieta — cities that didn't even exist before 1989 — now blanket the southwest Riverside County valley and hillsides. Avocado groves have been replaced by red-tiled subdivisions and you-could-be-anywhere retail stores. Sun City, for years a no-kids retirement zone, now sees new homes (young families!) nipping at its flanks. Riverside, the Inland Empire's largest old city, is a historic treasure of buildings and neighborhoods. It has fashioned itself into a citrus preserve (though that long struggle may yet succumb to developers' bulldozers). It claims a justice center for the two counties and has the area's only University of California campus. Yet, though it pines for high-tech and professional employers, Riverside can't seem to get anyone to take it seriously. When Riverside bagged a Barnes & Noble last year, it was



The famous Route 66 cuts through the Inland Empire on its way from Arizona to the California coast.

viewed as one of the biggest coups in the city's 130-year history.

Politically, the empire is mostly moderate Republican, with only a few right-wing pockets. And San Bernardino County actually sends Democrats to the Legislature and Congress.

Economically, the empire ranges from serfs to lords.

Population growth Inland Empire

(San Bernardino and Riverside counties combined)

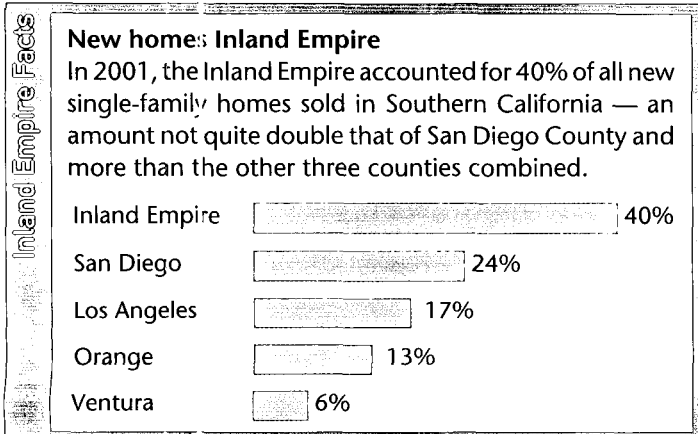
1980	1.6 million
1990	2.6 million
2000	3.3 million

Inland Empire Facts

About half the residents are renters. The median household income is around \$41,000 — still lower than California as a whole. There's some big money out here, but not that big. A \$5 million pledge to University of California, Riverside (for a law school that may never be built) would be regarded as pocket change by our neighbors. Fleetwood Enterprises, builder of manufactured homes and RVs, was the empire's only representative on the Fortune 500 until it dropped off the list in 2002.

Educationally, the Inland Empire is sprinkled with public and private colleges and universities, including the rapidly expanding University of California, Riverside. Yet, while 19.7 percent of Californians between the ages of 24 and 35 have bachelor's degrees, the percentage here is just 9.7. With our major freeways, proximity to airports, seaports, rail lines and big cities, plus a couple of local ex-military bases that may be converted to air-cargo ports, the terms "Inland Empire" and "transportation hub" seem destined to become interchangeable.

For all its geographic, racial, ethnic, historical and municipal schizophrenia, the Inland Empire, a booming metro area with almost 10 percent of the state's popula-



tion, is bound together by transcendent afflictions. Our lives are buffeted by furious residential growth, exhausting commutes, lousy air (although it's less lousy than it used to be), and, in some Inland Empire enclaves, a defensiveness about where we live.

■ ■ ■

The typical Inland Empire resident's commute takes between five minutes and two hours. Riverside Cathy Mueller holds down a high-tech job in nearby Redlands. She can leave her home with her two retrievers at 6 a.m. and 30 minutes later complete a hike to the top of Mount Rubidoux (a downtown Riverside mountain famous for

dents. The other two are weather (triple-digit summer heat plummets 40 degrees at night) and location.

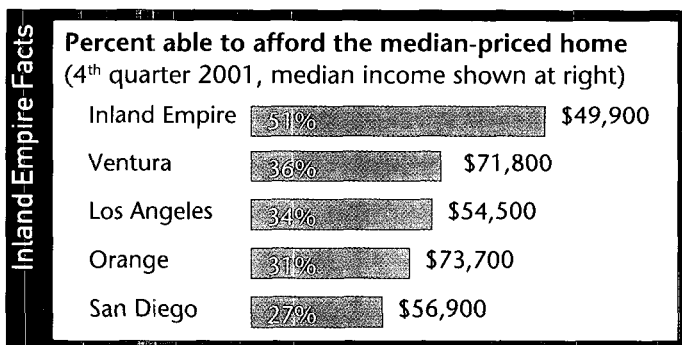
Any discussion of location is liable to tap into a vein of conflicting emotions. From birth (or moment of immigration), Inland Empirians recite this mantra: An hour from the desert, an hour from the mountains, an hour from the beaches. While this suggests a world of possibility, it leaves the impression that the Inland Empire is plopped in the middle of nowhere. This is far from accurate, for

the Inland Empire is rich in history (the century-old Mission Inn Hotel is not only the jewel of Riverside, but draws visitors from all over the world). The empire also is blessed (for the moment) with open space and parkland; it is home to a small, well-regarded wine industry; a leading incubator of Indian gaming casinos — there are 10 within easy losing distance, including the new, garish Trump 29 Casino near Indio. We are a hotbed (three teams) of Class A baseball, swimming in recreational water worlds, including the new Diamond Valley Lake near Hemet, and a deafening vortex (the California Speedway) of auto racing.

The Inland Empire also supports three symphonies, light opera, ballet and community theater. The body-pierced, head-banging set seems partial to outdoor rock concerts at San Bernardino County's Blockbuster Pavilion, while the picnic-blanket, community-sing-along crowd flocks to the historic, outdoor, free-admission Redlands



The San Bernardino Asistencia was built as a branch of the San Gabriel Mission in 1830.



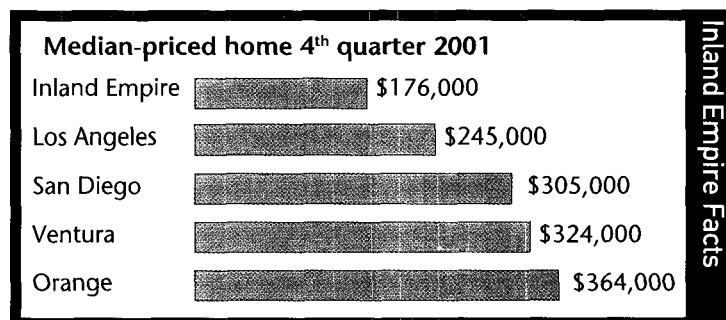
Fourth of July fireworks and Easter Sunrise services). She can then march back down the mountain to be home by 7:15 a.m. and breeze into work (a 20-minute drive, tops) by 8:30 a.m.

Janet Vaniman, who also lives in Riverside, can hit the road for her high-tech job at 6 a.m., ease onto a westbound freeway and almost count on coming to a dead stop 20 miles down the road. Janet is part of the Inland Empire's daily human hemorrhage that gushes to jobs in Los Angeles and Orange counties. Living in the Inland Empire often feels like a bedroom existence, though not always of an amorous nature.

Even those who don't commute may be directly affected by it. Perhaps their spouse departs at an obscene hour. Perhaps they run a day-care business catering to commuter parents. Perhaps they run a garage crammed with youthful, sputtering, broken-down commuter vehicles. For many Inland Empirians, commuting is just part of the pact with the Devil: Cheaper housing, more room, in some cases better schools. But your job is where you left it. Hit the road, Jack.

But it's worth it when you can slip across the county line, from Orange County to Riverside County's Corona, and move into 2,866 square feet of house for \$246,355. It's worth it when you can move your family into a sprawling kitchen-merges-into-family-room spread when, just 25 miles away in Orange County's Buena Park, the cheapest model in a new subdivision goes for \$271,000 and offers a spacious 1,530 square feet.

So we don't shake our heads in wonder when the Inland Empire Annual Survey (area academics run the thing) reports that affordable housing is among the top three attractions the mythical empire holds for its resi-



Bowl. Redlands and Riverside, both blessed with historic downtowns, host weekly market nights that lure entire families away from TVs.

Yet, these homegrown attractions cannot satisfy all of the people all of the time. Life in the Inland Empire flows effortlessly in any direction: to Palm Springs and Palm Desert (gated golf, swanky hotels, budget-busting bou-



San Bernardino Mountains

tiques); to Big Bear, Lake Arrowhead and Idyllwild — all mountain resorts; to San Diego, Pasadena, Santa Monica, the Getty Museum, Disneyland; to major league parks and arenas or to the venerable Santa Anita racetrack.

We are at once cosmopolitan and provincial. Though we live in the slick shadow of Los Angeles, we maintain vestiges of innocence. There's still a buzz when a new

inclined to wait and see what happens. We're bent on shaping our destiny. The mayor of San Bernardino is trying to reinvent her city by erasing downtown blight the

size of Central Park and replacing it with \$200 million in lakes, fountains, gardens, homes, restaurants and shops. Riverside, the state's 11th largest city, has embarked upon a consultant's dream: a "visioning" process designed to help shape what kind of city (high-paying jobs? throbbing downtown night life?) Riverside will become in the next 20 years.

Riverside County, tugged by builders, environmentalists, consultants and lobbyists, is crafting a "Blueprint for Tomorrow" that not only feeds Southern California's No. 1 addiction — new freeways — but declares endangered species habitat off limits to developers and prime residential and commercial land off limits to endangered species. Something for everyone. On paper.

We have few clues about how all this planning, consulting and carving will affect our lives. We just know that the Inland Empire will continue to fill up — not necessarily with rooster farms, junkyards and metal scavengers, but with hundreds and thousands of people. Rooflines are our corporate logo.

New jobs 1990-2002

Inland Empire	342,267
Orange Co.	250,700
Los Angeles Co.	-100,433

Inland Empire Facts

Recorded deeds on new homes, 1988-2001, by county

Inland Empire	160,000
San Diego	95,000
Orange	91,000
Los Angeles	75,000

Inland Empire Facts

Starbucks or Krispy Kreme comes to town. Yet, there's an edgy sense that the momentum is unstoppable. Mom-and-pop bookstores and hardware stores have been squashed by the big boxes. Temecula, the young Southwest Riverside County city, has never met a franchise it didn't like. The Inland Empire has its distinctive, you-have-arrived Nordstrom and Trader Joe's, but it is also increasingly wallpapered with Wal-Marts, hopping with Home Depots, layered with Lowe's.



We here in the Inland Empire sense that we're on the verge of a critical chapter in our history.

The University of California, Riverside will swell to 25,000 students by 2015. But the concern is not how we can possibly absorb all these graduates. The concern is what to do with them. In the last dozen years, the empire has birthed more than one of every three new Southern California jobs. But too many have been blue-collar gigs. Managers and professionals may live among us, but many are forced to seek employment elsewhere. What will it take to persuade well-paying, white-collared employers to start-up here — or defect from other counties? Cheap land? Cheap power? Better-educated residents? Cleaner air?

But if we're on the verge of something, we're not

Total Inland Empire jobs as of 1999: 1,490,100

- **Clean work, good pay: 157,363 employees**
Local government, engineering, manufacturing, computers, aerospace, office
- **Clean work, moderate pay: 244,362**
Education, health, financial, real estate, some business services
- **Dirty work, moderate pay: 276,696**
Logistics distribution, manufacturing (except extremely high and low paying jobs), construction
- **Low pay: 370,680**
Retail, hotels, personal services, agriculture, apparel and textiles

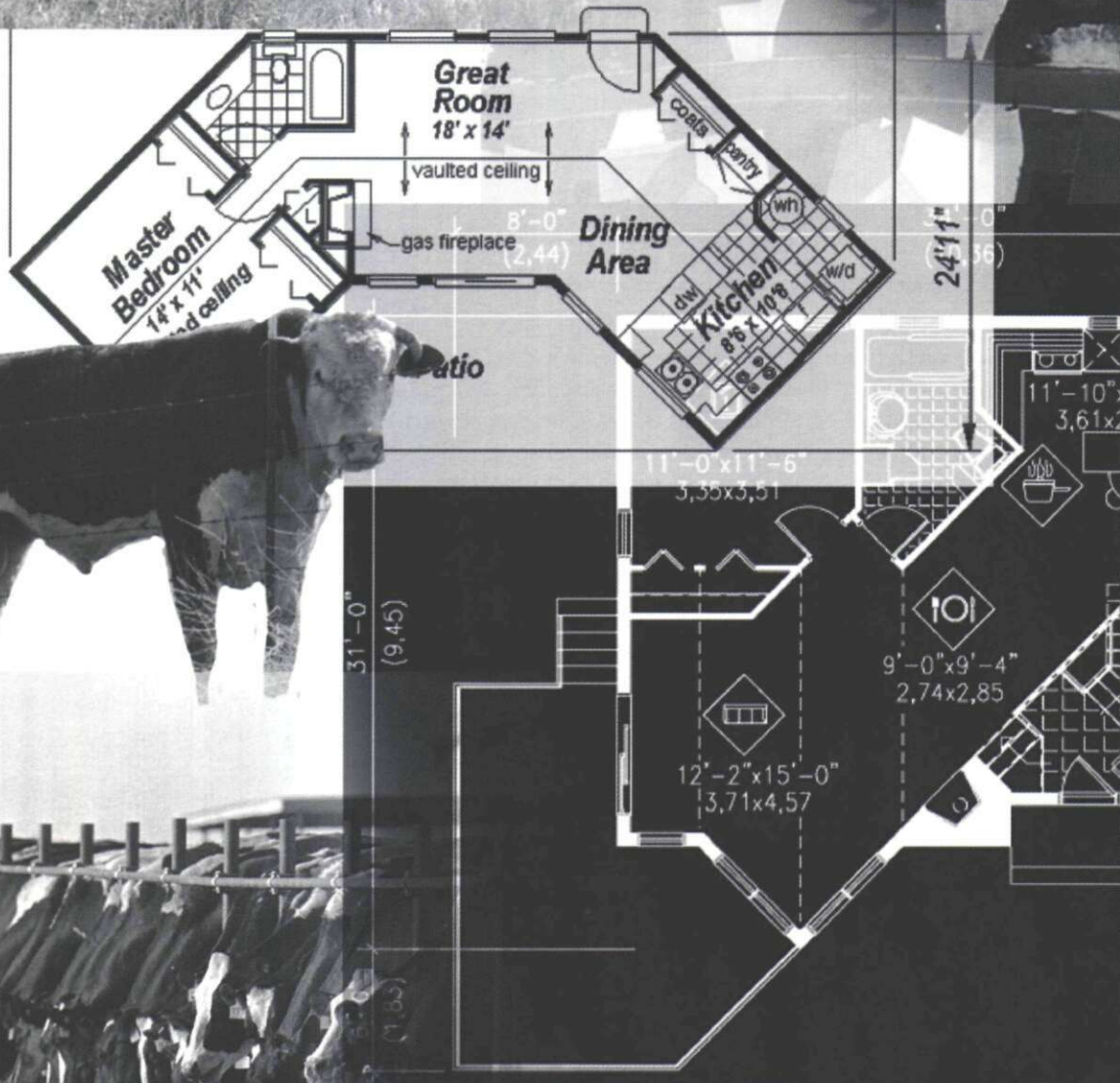
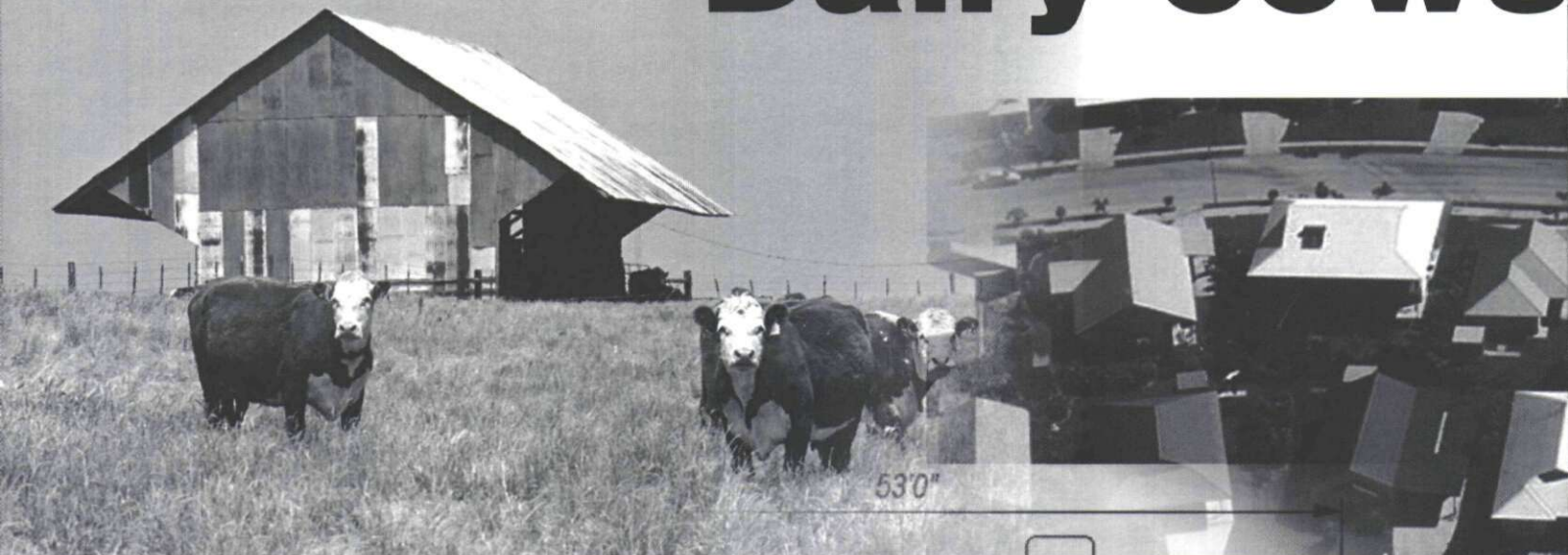
Inland Empire Facts

The "visioning" and "blueprints" might help us stay ahead of the tide. Yet, the mere fact that these efforts are underway suggests a danger: New roads might become instantly congested, new schools overcrowded, new homes less well built and less affordable, new cities may lack any character save for the character of Every Town USA. And the old bugaboos of crime and drugs — some fled Los Angeles to get away from them — may nip, nag at and eventually invade even the most pristine subdivisions.

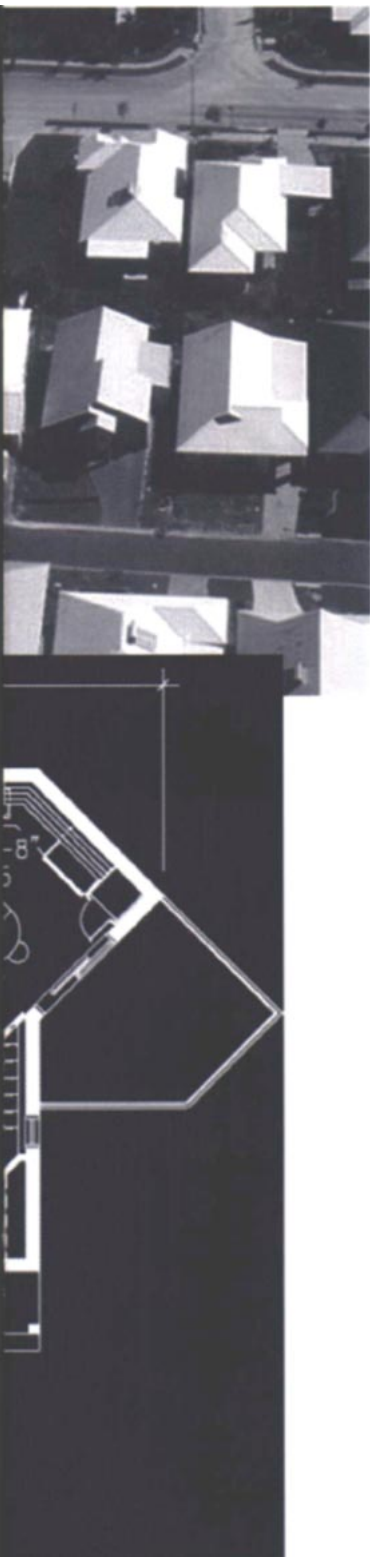
We've seen this happen elsewhere. We've witnessed other cities' and counties' mistakes. Will we commit the same development atrocities or find a new and better way? That's why the Inland Empire is an intriguing story. Maybe not a thriller but packed with just enough suspense to make a lot of us hang around to see what will happen next. 🏠

Dan Bernstein is a columnist with the Riverside Press-Enterprise. Comments may be sent to edit@statenet.com.

Dairy cows



and dream homes



On a sunny spring day, when the air is clear enough that Mount Baldy can be seen towering over western San Bernardino County, movers un-load large wooden crates on the driveway of a house in Chino. The brand new \$600,000 house in Bridlewood Estates has every amenity an executive could want — more than 3,000 square feet of living space, a four-car garage, a fully landscaped half-acre lot, even a fancy bridle path with rail fences next to the sidewalk.

The Inland Empire is one of the fastest growing regions in the United States, challenging local and regional authorities to manage growth in ways that provide for people without further damaging the environment.

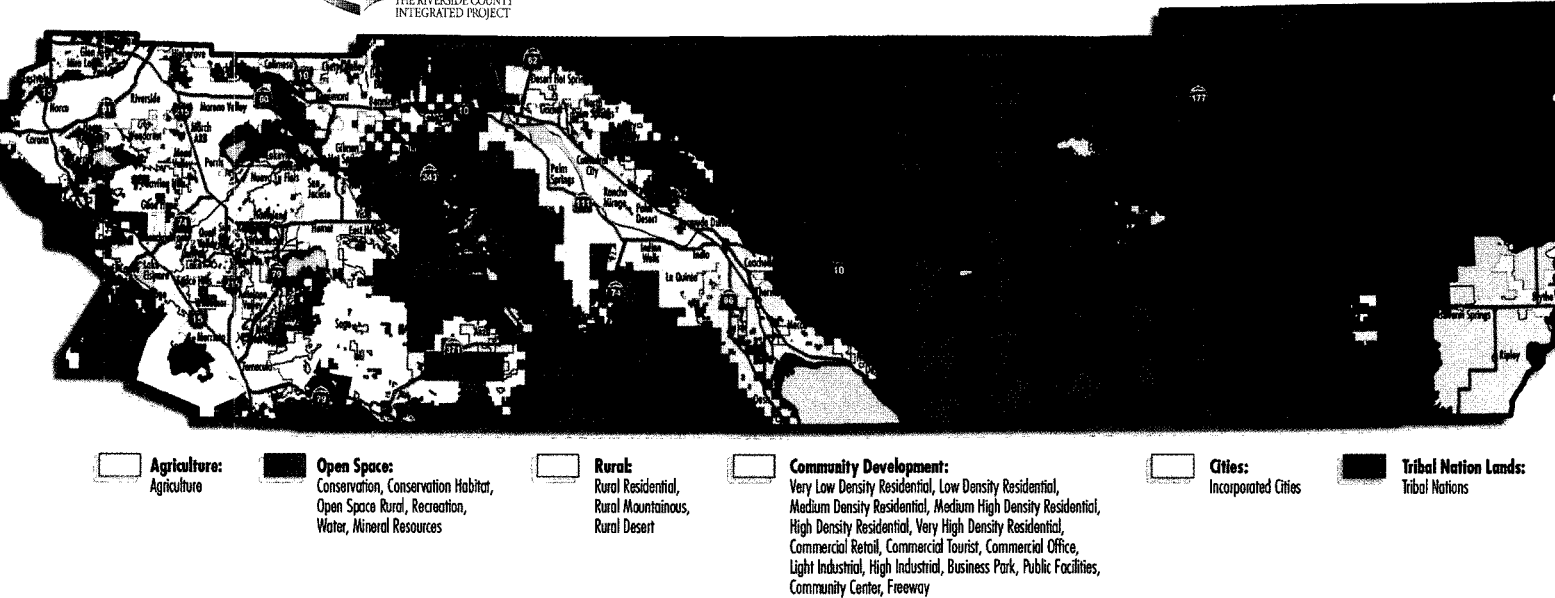
Some of the other “amenities” are more unusual; namely, the view of a small auction yard just over the backyard block wall and the unmistakable odor of an industrial dairy less than half a mile away. Not to worry, says a salesman, they are moving the dairies out. There are going to be nice new homes over there.

In this case, the sales pitch is true. The cows of the 15,000-acre San Bernardino County Dairy Preserve — once the largest concentration of dairy cows in the United States — are headed elsewhere, mostly to the San Joaquin Valley, San Bernardino County’s high desert or Arizona. The cows will be replaced by people — as many as 200,000 of them in the cities of Ontario and Chino and in the unincorporated Riverside County community of Eastvale.

After years of planning, this valley — framed on three sides by the San Gabriel Mountains, the Chino Hills and the Santa Ana Mountains — is in serious transition from dairies, chicken farms and alfalfa fields to suburban tracts and densely populated urban centers. Ontario officials are ready to begin awarding the first building permits in the “New Model Colony,” which covers about half of the old agricul-

**By Paul
Shigley
and
William
Fulton**

Proposed General Plan



tural preserve. City planners project that 102,000 people — about two-thirds as many as now call Ontario home — will live in the development when it is fully built out in 20 to 30 years. Officials in Chino hope to adopt a specific plan for another 5,400 acres of the dairy preserve by the end of the year, with development following quickly.

In many ways, this transition represents both the recent past and the foreseeable future for the Inland Empire. Agriculture is giving way to houses, shopping centers and industrial parks at an amazing clip. By most measures, the Inland Empire is the fastest-growing part of a state that reliably increases its population by about 500,000 people a year. In the 16 months following the 2000 census, Riverside and San Bernardino counties added 147,000 residents, according to the U.S. Census Bureau. Nearly all of those new residents live in the counties' far western sections, which make up the developed portion of the Inland Empire. Demographers and planners expect the growth to continue, with Riverside County's population projected to roughly double to 3 million people by 2025. The growth rate is nearly as rapid in San Bernardino County, which has less readily developable land than Riverside County.

As Los Angeles and Orange counties have become built out, the Inland Empire has provided a relief valve for growth pressures. But while housing development has marched eastward in the Southern California metropolis, jobs have remained closer to the coast. Thus, San Bernardino and Riverside counties increasingly provide affordable housing for people who work 40 miles or more to the west.

The massive growth also has brought urban problems, foremost among them is traffic congestion, according to the Inland Empire Annual Survey conducted by Max Neiman, director of the University of California, Riverside,

Center for Social and Behavioral Scientific Research. Indeed, the freeways that link Inland Empire homes with job sites in Los Angeles and Orange counties — Interstate 10 and Highways 60 and 91 — are among the most congested in the region. In Corona, along one of the worst bottlenecks of the 91 freeway, thousands of commuters flood city streets as an alternative to jammed freeways and pricey toll lanes.

"According to my surveys, there is a substantial unhappiness with the rate and pace of growth," Neiman says. Still, voters have continued to elect pro-development candidates, and ballot initiatives that propose to slow growth have been rare.

"You don't see the kind of strong anti-growth movements that you see in Ventura County or in Northern California," Neiman observes. "The two main reasons are, this is generally a more conservative area, and, second, there is still a little insecurity because of the [economic] downturn of the early 1990s."

So, while Inland Empire residents complain about slow freeways, dirty air, crowded schools and the loss of open space, they still value urban development as an economic necessity. Or, as Neiman puts it, the Inland Empire sees itself as the homely girl at the school dance. When someone asks her to dance, she quickly says "yes" because she is not sure when another suitor might come along.

The Riverside response

Forecasts of rapid growth have prompted a variety of responses from local governments. Some have embraced "business as usual" by approving housing tracts, distribution warehouses and big-box retail centers as quickly as builders can submit applications. Other jurisdictions have tried more thoughtful approaches, drawing up new general plans and adopting specific plans that depart from

long-held notions of building suburbs.

Riverside County stands accused of both: It has undertaken the most expensive local planning effort in state history at the same time it has approved subdivisions for thousands of houses in rural areas and has fast-tracked approval of some industrial projects. The planning effort

general plan calls for about 10 new urban centers with a dense mixture of development, in addition to large tracts of houses. Greenbelts would separate and help define most communities. The habitat plan calls for permanently protecting 153,000 acres of desert, pastures and watersheds that might otherwise be developed. And the initial trans-

"Bottom line: How are you going to squeeze another 1.5 million people into Riverside County and make it half-way habitable?"

— Pamela Miod, Citizens First of Temecula Valley

has drawn praise from many land-use experts and good-government advocates, while "business as usual" has drawn the condemnation of environmentalists, as well as cities in Riverside County that want more control over areas near their borders.

The planning effort — known as the Riverside County Integrated Project — is an attempt to draft a new general plan, a transportation plan and a habitat conservation plan all at the same time. From a distance, such an approach makes sense. But few jurisdictions anywhere in the nation have tried because of expense — the RCIP is expected to cost \$30 million — and because coordinating such a project is overwhelming. The project was the brainchild of Riverside County Supervisor Tom Mullen. Soon after taking office in 1994, Mullen saw a situation that was untenable. Traffic was already jammed, and forecasters said many more people — and cars — were coming.

"Infrastructure has not been addressed in any meaningful way in California since the days of Pat Brown," Mullen says.

Mullen aimed to figure how to accommodate what he saw as inevitable growth by preserving right-of-way for future highways and public transit routes. But to actually implement a transportation plan meant considering environmental consequences, especially in a county that is home to dozens of rare species of plants and animals. So Mullen urged preparation of a simultaneous multi-species habitat conservation plan that federal wildlife officials had been demanding for years. During preliminary meetings in the late 1990s, Mullen heard enough gripes about the county's general plan — which is supposed to serve as a local growth and conservation "constitution" but which had been amended hundreds of times — that it became clear that preparation of three plans at once was the only strategy that could succeed.

In mid-1999, the board of supervisors, county planners, a host of consultants and scores of "stakeholders" serving on advisory committees began what they hoped would be a three-year process. The county began rolling out the resulting plans earlier this year, and a series of public workshops and hearings now is underway. The

portation plan calls for a new highway from Moreno Valley to Redlands, plus a new east-west route and a new north-south route, both of which could accommodate a freeway and, potentially, a rail line or dedicated bus lanes.

Not in total agreement

"Our plan is not one that limits growth," says Jerry Joliffe, a Riverside County planner overseeing the general plan revision. "We want to make sure that we are going to manage that growth to the best of our ability."

An alliance of builders and environmentalists stands behind the proposed plans because the stakeholder representatives believe in the compromises that have been worked out. However, most participants are uneasy about the adoption process.

"We fear that the plan won't survive as recommended because there is a strong sentiment in the community against the smaller units," says Borre Winckel, executive director of the California Building Industry Association's Riverside County Chapter and an RCIP participant. "The politicians are telling us, 'We don't want urban sprawl.' But then they crucify us for proposing density."

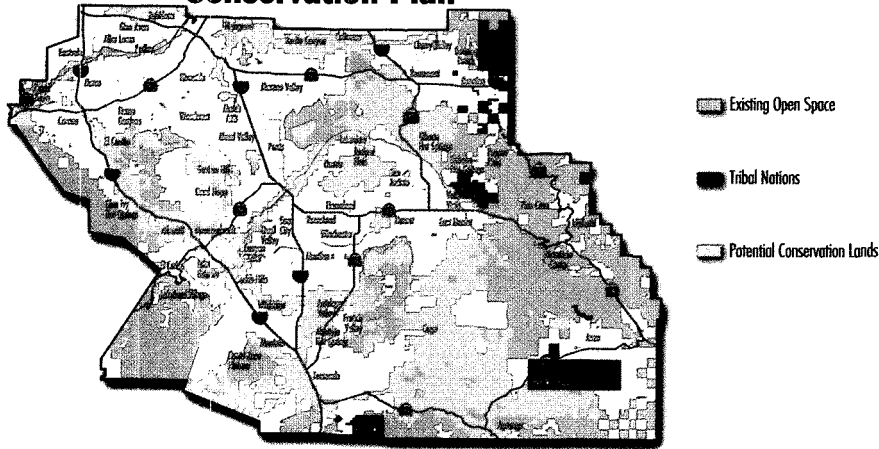
Early reaction to the plans from residents and landowners has been mixed. Owners of large parcels fear the habitat plan could cost them money, while residents fear the plan allows too much growth.

"It was definitely designed for the developer," says Pamela Miod, a founder of the slow-growth organization Citizens First of Temecula Valley. "I don't think people realize that once all these decisions are made, the citizens are not going to be able to do anything about it. ...Bottom line: How are you going to squeeze another 1.5 million people into Riverside County and make it half-way habitable?"

The RCIP also requires cooperation between cities in no small part because acquiring land for the habitat plan will almost certainly require a fee on development throughout the county. City-county relationships are already rocky because of the planning process and development conflicts in general.

Even if RCIP backers can get the plans approved by the

Western Riverside County Multi-species Habitat Conservation Plan



board of supervisors, the question of implementation remains unanswered. Full implementation could cost more than \$10 billion, including about \$9 billion for transportation projects alone. An extension of the half-cent sales tax could provide some of the transportation money, and fees on developers could provide more. But relying on voters and developers is an uncertain prospect, and no one knows for sure where the rest of the money would come from — or even who would carry out the projects.

"If we pull it off, it's going to be remarkable," says Winckel. "But we may have created an almost unworkable program because there isn't the administration to carry it out."

The San Bernardino response

Across the county line in San Bernardino County, much of the innovative planning is occurring in two cities and not at the county level. Chino and Ontario, to different degrees, have jumped aboard the "smart growth" bandwagon with plans for their sections of the old dairy preserve.

"If you keep doing things the way you always have, you'll get more of the same problems," says Robert Prasse, a planner with the consulting firm overseeing the city of Chino's proposed make-over for the dairy preserve.

The Chino-specific plan has drawn positive reactions for its proposals to increase housing density within a ring of commercial and light industrial development around a tight urban core. The plan emphasizes development on what planners call a "walkable scale," and the average housing density that is about 50 percent higher than typical, making public transit a viable alternative. These concepts are a major departure from the tracts of single-family homes on large lots and the giant retail centers surrounded by seas of asphalt that have characterized development in the region. Because about half of the dairy preserve within Chino's planning areas lies in the flood plain behind Prado Dam, a huge chunk of land will flank the urbanized area with open space, plant and animal

habitat, parks and even some cropland and pasture.

The Chino plan "is the single most progressive land use plan I've seen in the Inland Empire," said Dan Silver, executive director of the Endangered Habitats League and a frequent participant in Inland Empire growth battles. The Chino plan uses land efficiently, offers a variety of housing options and provides needed open space, according to Silver, who hopes other cities will follow suit.

Just north of Chino, officials in Ontario are ready to welcome the start of development in the New Model Colony. The plan proposes a "town center," about a dozen other nodes of dense housing and two business parks, including one next to the Chino Airport. However, unlike in Chino, about half of the Ontario plan area is designated for single-family homes on standard-issue lots.

Silver calls Ontario's plan "halfway there" mainly because of its emphasis on single-family-home subdivisions and lack of open space. But Silver also gives Ontario officials credit for adopting some "smart growth" concepts, such as neighborhood centers to which people can walk or ride a bicycle.

Ontario's experience shows just how difficult it is for cities to break with past development habits and please everyone. On one side, Silver's group sued because of traffic and species' concerns. (The suit was settled earlier this year when the city agreed to increase fees on developers to purchase habitat.) On the other side is the development industry, where some members question the city's approach.

"I think the value of the land is going to be zero by the time some of it gets developed," complained Frank Williams, executive director of the California Building Industry Association's Baldy View Chapter. Williams was the only member of an Ontario advisory committee who voted against the New Model Colony blueprint. The plan, Williams charges, does not address infrastructure in a realistic way and requires too much of developers.

Of course, deciding who pays for what is a never-ending battle in any fast-growing community. In the Inland Empire, negotiations over how best to accommodate growth have become the norm, says Peter Diage, a University of California, Riverside environmental sciences professor.

"The players in the game of planning and development are much more sophisticated than they were 30 years ago," Diage observes. "These are people who are experienced, they are part of large organizations, they have creative legal staffs. The old days of us-versus-them, or in the environmental sense, tree-huggers-versus-builders, are gone." 🏠

William Fulton and Paul Shigley publish the Planning and Development Report. Comments may be sent to edit@statenet.com.

Teen birthrates have dropped in California,
but this is no time to get complacent.
California still leads the nation in teen pregnancies.
And over the next 10 years, our teenage population
is expected to increase by 1 million. That could
mean many more teen pregnancies, unless
we take action now.

Dedicación

What can you do ?

Dedicate time and resources to programs in your community that help teens make responsible decisions and avoid risky behavior.

Dedicate your support for school-based sexuality education that is up-to-date, medically factual, and gives teens information about abstinence, healthy relationships and contraception.

Dedicate yourself to talking with teens in your family about healthy, responsible sexual behavior.

Teen pregnancy is also an adult problem. Let's solve it together.

To learn more, visit our website at: www.letsgetreal.org



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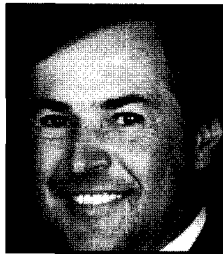
Political potentates in the Inland Empire

Fostering a working relationship between two rapidly growing counties takes patience, fortitude and downright vigilance. As the fastest growing region in California and the most rapidly expanding job base in the nation, Riverside and San Bernardino counties have, for better or worse, attempted to stake their fortunes together in the region known as the Inland Empire. Here's a quick look at who's helped shape that joint vision and who holds the keys to the political power that helps unlock the doors to money and cooperation.

Ramon Alvarez

President, Alvarez Lincoln Mercury
Home: Riverside

Alvarez, who was born in the U.S. but raised in Mexico, parleyed his success as an automobile dealer into helping other Hispanics climb the economic ladder. He founded and served on the Riverside Hispanic Chamber of Commerce and launched several start-up businesses. He's also put his energy into helping the younger Hispanic population succeed in school by aggressively securing additional funds for local schools.



shape the region economically. From heading up the Riverside Downtown Association to leading the drive to bring a federal district court to the region, Carney has been instrumental in bringing both environmental and business sense to the region's growth. Most recently, she's put her efforts into shifting over to new school buses that operate on clean fuel.

Sue Johnson

Former UC Regent, 1990-2002
Home: Riverside

Johnson served 12 years as a UC regent, and as chair for the last year, until her term ended in March. As head of its finance committee, she helped steer money to UC Riverside to build more than 1 million square feet of new campus facilities during her tenure. She has also been instrumental in attracting federal money to help incubate new industries in the growing region.



Jim Brulte

State Senator
Elected: 1996
Home: Rancho Cucamonga

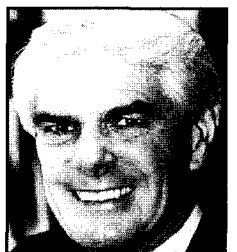
A fixture on the legislative scene since 1990, Brulte uses his political clout as Republican minority leader to ensure the Inland Empire receives the political care and feeding it needs to grow. He's considered the go-to guy, especially on business-related issues. Business leaders are particularly grateful for his help in revamping workers' comp in the early 1990s.



Jerry Lewis

U.S. Representative, District 40
Elected: 1978
Home: Redlands

As a senior member of the House Appropriations Committee and chair of the National Security Appropriations Subcommittee, Lewis is credited with bringing needed federal dollars to the region. Whether it be money for new freeways, base re-use or HUD dollars to help revitalize communities, Lewis helps shake the federal money tree to sprinkle cash back home.



Jane Carney

South Coast Air Quality
Management District
Appointed: 2000
Home: Riverside

Though appointed to the SCAQMD just two years ago, Carney has long been involved in helping



John Longville

Assemblyman

Elected: 1993

Home: Rialto

A political anomaly in a region that leans heavily Republican, Democrat Longville spent nearly two decades on the Rialto City Council before coming to Sacramento. He honed his political skills working on transportation issues, particularly as a co-founder of the regional transportation authority that gave birth to the Metrolink commuter rail system. Longville has also pitched in on regional matters as a member of the Southern California Association of Governments and as a board member of the San Bernardino Associated Governments.



affiliation with local business groups that regularly lobby in Sacramento and Washington, D.C., help tap public money for the region.

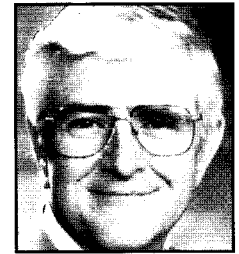
Tom Mullen

Riverside County Supervisor

Elected: 1994

Home: Riverside

Mullen put several years under his belt as a police officer and deputy sheriff before becoming chief of staff for 10 years to former Senator Bob Presley. After a subsequent stint on the Riverside County Transportation Commission, Mullen was elected to the Riverside County Board of Supervisors where he has distinguished himself as the leading proponent of a countywide integrated plan intended to balance transportation, habitat conservation and housing demands arising from the dramatic population growth expected over the next 20 years.



Ron Loveridge

Mayor of Riverside

Elected: 1994

Home: Riverside

Loveridge served 15 years on the Riverside City Council before becoming mayor in 1994. Since then, he's helped Riverside up its profile both locally and globally. Through his initiatives, Riverside and San Bernardino counties have worked in partnership on economic development projects of mutual benefit. He's also been instrumental in establishing sister city relationships in Korea, Japan and Mexico to better position Riverside in the global marketplace.



Judith Valles

Mayor of San Bernardino

Elected: 1998

Home: San Bernardino

After more than 40 years in higher education and service as president of three different Southern California community colleges, Valles ran for office in her hometown of San Bernardino. She's put her collaborative style to work, bringing much needed improvements to the county seat, and is credited with melding business and education interests to help pump up the local economy and the appearance of the city. Economic development and tourism have been her focus with a strong eye to marketing the city both locally and nationally.



Martin Matich

Chairman, Matich Corporation

Home: Redlands

Matich's family construction business, founded in 1918, built the area's highways, airports and flood control projects, making Matich a keen advocate for regional cooperation. Matich, too, has been a political leader representing the business muscle from San Bernardino County. Close ties to Governors George Deukmejian and Pete Wilson helped bring needed clout to the area. He's still a major campaign donor, helping elect state and national representatives.



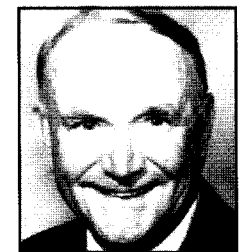
Jacques Yeager

Yeager Brothers

Home: Riverside

A complement to Martin Matich in San Bernardino County, Yeager also operates from the base of a family-owned construction firm; it was responsible for building most of the freeways in the Riverside portion of the region. He helped found the group that ultimately became the Inland Empire Economic Partnership. Yeager's been instrumental in handpicking legislative and congressional candidates that support the area's vision of growth. 

— CJ Editors



Marsha McQuern

Publisher, Riverside Press-Enterprise

Home: Riverside

McQuern capped a long journalistic career by becoming publisher of the Riverside Press-Enterprise in 1994. Since then she has used the corporate resources at her disposal to launch a weekly business newspaper and a regional Spanish-language newspaper, both considered vital to bridging the two counties. Her



The Inland Empire

They were distinct regions for decades, but massive migration from the coast to inland areas has welded San Bernardino and Riverside counties to the megalopolis known as Southern California.

That has created a community of interest with Los Angeles and Orange counties and has helped ease regional infighting.



By Andy
McCue

In the beginning, there were the images.

San Bernardino was the railroad town, founded by Mormons as a way station to Los Angeles and nourished by generations of brakemen and boiler tenders. Nearby Fontana had the Kaiser steel mill. Men sweated in San Bernardino. The image was a collage of smokestacks and balpeen hammers.

Riverside was the citrus capital, founded by Anglophilic abolitionists and tended by generations of plant biologists and soils experts. Men drove slowly along the palm-lined miles of Victoria Avenue in Riverside, headed towards the Mission Inn. The image was orange-crate labels.

The images were metaphors for two towns that simply didn't like each other. Riverside was smaller but "nicer," and snooty about it. They spat at each other across the county line and took their grudges to Sacramento. When they dueled, Riverside inevitably did better — a University of California campus, for instance.

and the coast



San Bernardino got consolation prizes, such as a California State University site.

Then the tide came in, and in, and in — bringing with it people, jobs and urban problems.

In the 1980s, people from overcrowded Los Angeles and Orange counties began to move east. Between 1980 and 2000, San Bernardino County's population nearly doubled to 1.7 million, while Riverside more than doubled to over 1.5 million. The in-

creased population brought more political representation. In the current Legislature, for instance, a dozen Assembly members have at least a piece of an inland county in their jurisdiction. So do five state senators. An area that rarely saw a governor, a senator or a president now gets regular campaign visits, especially from Republicans.

Jobs followed the population growth. Even in the depths of the 1990's recession, while Los Angeles County

lost 283,000 jobs, the inland counties' employment base grew and diversified. The Kaiser steel mills might have closed and the orange groves been eaten by housing subdivisions, but cheaper land drew small manufacturers and warehouse operations from the coastal counties. The Inland Empire now is "a region much more stand-alone than a bedroom community," said San Bernardino County Supervisor Jon Mikels.

Inland economic development

agencies began to woo other kinds of jobs, some attached to “amenities” Orange and Los Angeles counties were only too happy to give up — such as prisons and landfills.

Growth, however, fostered problems. Even with an expanding and diversified job base, 20 percent of the population jammed the roads by commuting outside the counties to work. And commuting was only the most obvious problem. As Riverside and San Bernardino counties were drawn into the coastal megalopolis, they were

ate. In the private sector, the Inland Empire Economic Partnership unified the regional economic development message and brought business and electoral elites from both counties into more regular contact. Even when Riverside pirated a bankruptcy court



Ontario airport slated for massive growth

The onset of these regional problems helped unify Riverside and San Bernardino counties by reinforcing the previously ignored notion that they had more in common than their historical animosities might indicate.

drawn into its regional troubles, as well. Southern California’s smog, for example, is mostly generated in the more heavily populated coastal counties, but prevailing winds blow it inland where it piles up against the mountains and squats over inland communities. Freeways, rail lines and housing allocations all revealed splits between the coast and the hinterland.

A community of issues

Yet the onset of these regional problems helped unify Riverside and San Bernardino counties by reinforcing the previously ignored notion that they had more in common than their historical animosities might indicate. “The issues are not as clear as the county lines,” said Mark Pisano, executive director of the Southern California Association of Governments (SCAG), which includes Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino, Ventura and Imperial counties.

County agencies such as the San Bernardino Associated Governments and the Riverside County Transportation Commission (both transportation-planning agencies) began to cooper-

and a federal district court from San Bernardino a decade ago, the ties continued to strengthen. The community of issues was just too compelling.

Just as the inland counties were gaining new muscles, they began to receive lessons in how to use them.

SCAG is the body through which many regional battles are fought. The ammunition is seemingly abstruse numbers, as groups seek to get a projection favorable to their interests enshrined in SCAG planning documents, which in the past relied on SCAG staff to supply those numbers. But that changed two decades ago when Orange County used independent studies to challenge the numerical dominance then enjoyed by Los Angeles County when it came to resolving regional debates. Orange County hired consultants and forged relationships with local universities to give it numbers that could be used to challenge SCAG staff assessments.

Now, the inland counties are using the same strategy to challenge Orange and Los Angeles counties. The signature case took place in the late 1990s and involved two of Southern

California’s premier air hubs: Los Angeles International Airport (LAX) and Ontario International Airport. Inland counties — pushing for expansion at Ontario — found willing allies in Los Angeles-based groups interested in curbing growth at LAX. The battle was fought through a series of SCAG reports and dozens of committee meetings, and was virtually a complete victory for Ontario expansion. The current plan calls for modest growth at LAX and growth so strong at Ontario that local officials are beginning to have second thoughts about noise, pollution and other problems.

New fights

The process was an eye-opener for the inlanders. San Bernardino and Riverside counties’ growing political and economic power could be leveraged through shifting, issue-based alliances with other groups throughout Southern California. “It’s a flow of common interests from different vantage points,” said Eric Haley, executive director of the Riverside County Transportation Commission and a key inland player in the airport debate.

Now, a new generation of fights looms. "The Inland Empire has really come to the conclusion that they want to be a more balanced community," said Pisano.

That means assessing more closely the kinds of businesses and jobs the region seeks to lure. Where inland economic-development officials once leaped at any chance to add jobs that

rates, Riverside and San Bernardino counties aren't all that inexpensive. Only about half of inland households can afford to buy the median-priced house.

The state imposes quotas on where affordable housing must be built, and it uses the funding club to enforce that building program. It also decides the number of units that must be built in

officials in Sacramento that affordable housing quotas in the Inland Empire ought to be reduced without any corresponding increase in the coastal counties' share.

Instead of trying to negotiate a settlement, the state dumped it back in SCAG's lap. Hence, the lawsuits.

"The state has a role to smooth off the worst of the inequities," argues Riverside County Supervisor Bob Buster, and it "is really failing on land use and growth issues." Former Republican Assemblyman Fred Aguilar, now a San Bernardino County supervisor, said the SCAG housing quotas need to be a front-line issue for inland lawmakers in Sacramento. The dispute ended up in court precisely because there was no strong state effort to mediate it.

Rail funding

Unlike the dispute over affordable housing, rail funding offers an issue where unanimity currently is high but where fractures could develop. Los Angeles and Long Beach cooperated with the railroads on the Alameda Corridor project, which put the main tracks from the harbor to rail yards near downtown Los Angeles into a trench. The trench reduced surface street disruptions while allowing the railroads to operate at significantly higher speeds. The newly opened corridor is already greatly increasing train traffic from the Los Angeles/Long Beach port complex. But as the cargo leaves downtown Los Angeles, virtually all of the cars and television sets move through Riverside and San Bernardino counties, gumming up rail-street junctures and increasing truck traffic on inland highways.

The inland counties want federal money to provide for rail-street grade separations and truck lanes or other improvements to the freeways. "We have a hell of a lot of 'stuff' that goes through us without benefitting us," said Norm King, executive director of the San Bernardino Associated Governments.

The regional response has been unanimous. "It's our responsibility that we bring back the money," said Congressman Joe Baca (D-San Ber-



The Inland Empire yearns to be more than just a bedroom community.

pulled their residents off freeways — hence, past interest in landfills and prisons — they've now become more selective. The subsidies that were once available to any employer now tend to be held back for high-tech and high-wage employers.

The most convoluted battle involves affordable housing, an issue that has led the inland counties to sue SCAG and the state's Housing and Community Development agency. (SCAG also has sued HCD.) The problem is rooted in the high price of Southern California housing. While inland counties tout themselves as low-cost housing meccas, they are so only in relation to coastal counties. Compared to the rest of the country and to wage

each region of the state and treats Southern California as one region for this purpose. SCAG then divides the number of units among its members. Given the relative price of land, Inland Empire houses cost roughly half what they do in Orange County. Thus, the search for affordable areas pushes regional plans to put less expensive housing inland.

San Bernardino and Riverside agencies, concerned with becoming the dumping ground for poorer, less-skilled people, counterattacked with numbers and legal niceties, arguing that Los Angeles and Orange counties should absorb a much higher percentage of the affordable housing. SCAG played it down the middle, arguing to

nardino). Coastal legislators are only too happy to agree that more money needs to come from Washington.

But the money is likely to be sliced and diced by SCAG, and much of Orange County and the western coastal areas of Los Angeles County are unconcerned with rail issues. They have

tates only one straightforward route between the two areas. Thus, traffic gurus nationwide declared it an excellent place to test toll roads as a relief for rush-hour congestion. Commuters (the vast majority of them Riverside County residents) could pay the toll or

Riverside and San Bernardino counties. The days of indiscreet elbowing and snide remarks are largely over. "It's amazing what you can do when two counties push the wheel together," said Buster.

But some inland policy-makers

"It's amazing what you can do when two counties push the wheel together."

— Riverside County Supervisor Bob Buster

freeway and mass-transit issues that have far greater impact on their residents and as a result will want any federal money dedicated to those problems.

Cross-border districts

This infighting may be mitigated by a growing number of cross-border elected officials. With new legislative and congressional districts based on the 2000 census in place, a large number of legislators at all levels have constituencies that cross county lines. State Senator Nell Soto has a district that covers pieces of both Los Angeles and San Bernardino counties. It's centered in Pomona, politically a part of Los Angeles County, but economically and socially, more a part of the Inland Empire. She's all for getting that transportation money into her district, which includes the rail lines leading east from Los Angeles. And, she said, she's gained support from Congressman David Dreier (R-Covina), whose district covers the eastern part of Los Angeles County also affected by increased train traffic.

The biggest result of the split-constituencies effect can be seen along Highway 91, the state highway that connects Riverside County with Orange County through Santa Ana Canyon. The geography of the canyon and adjacent mountain ranges dic-

stick to the public highway, but there was no realistic alternative for most drivers.

Orange County, dominated by Republicans, approved the toll road, which opened in 1996 in its portion of the canyon. When traffic on both the toll and public portions continued to mount, Buster and other Riverside County elected officials moved to widen the publicly owned portion for both safety and traffic reasons. But the toll-road company cited its agreement with Orange County, which banned improvements that might limit the company's ability to make money.

That seeming impasse was resolved recently because of a new split constituency. Orange County Supervisor Todd Spitzer, who's running for the Assembly in a district that includes Riverside County territory, took the initiative. In April, the Orange County Transportation Authority, which Spitzer chairs, agreed to buy out the private company, opening the way for improvements.

The inland region's increased success has been the product of many forces, but none has been as important as the strong unity exhibited by

worry that wedge issues might appear. There are "not enough strong bi-county institutions to move it forward on a regular basis," said the Riverside County Transportation Commission's Haley.

The development of inland airports is one possible wedge issue. While Ontario International's place as the inland region's main airport seems secure, there are ambitious plans for development of former military bases near Adelanto and San Bernardino, and on the Riverside-Moreno Valley-Perris border. Favoring the development of one at the expense of others could give a coastal group leverage on an issue that splits the inland bloc.

But supervisors such as Aguiar, Buster and Mikels, who's also the president of SCAG, think the overall similarity of interests will be much stronger than any particular subsidiary issue. We "still need regional cooperation to overcome the problems we have to face together," said Mikels. 🏠

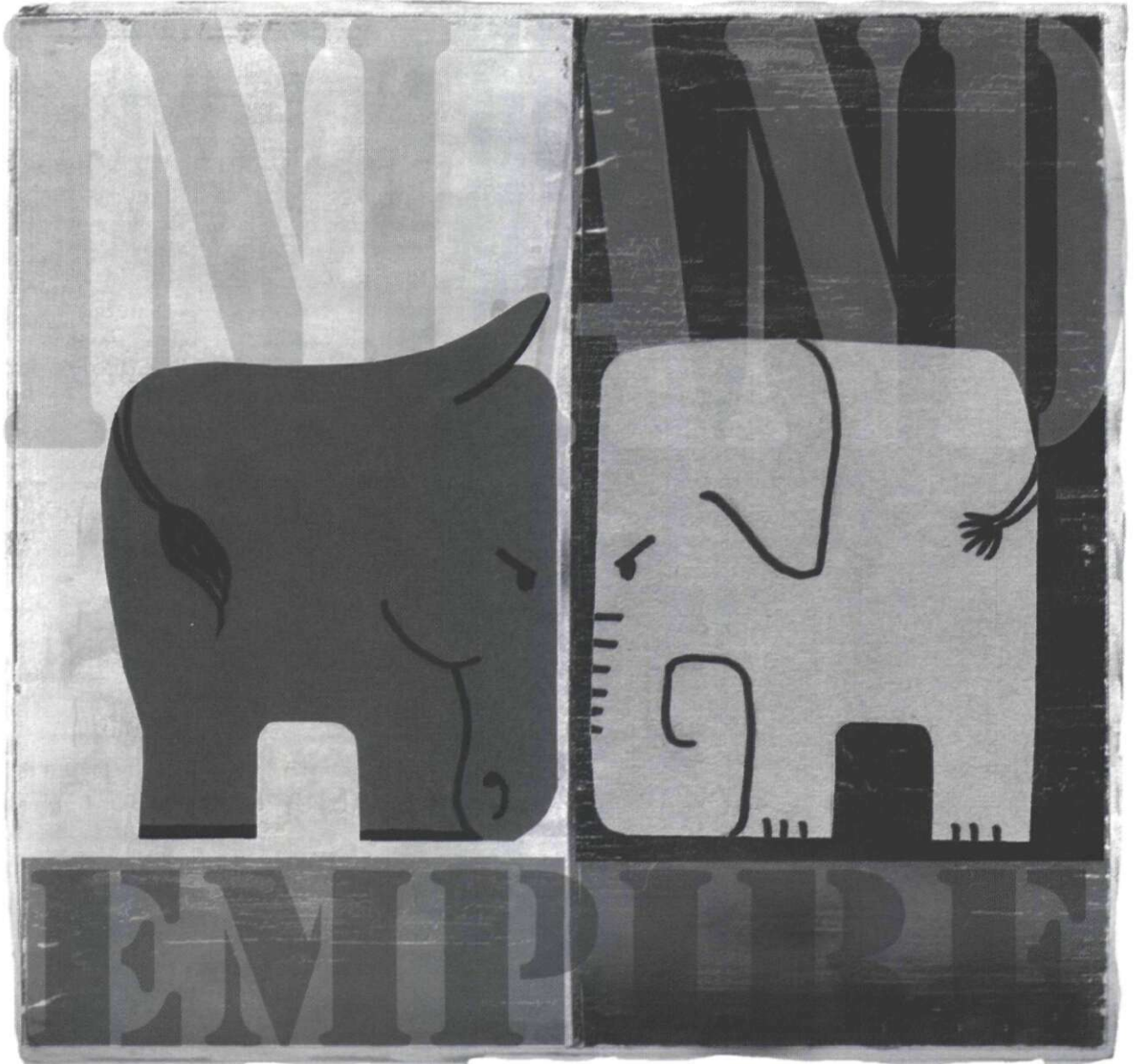
Andy McCue, a former business columnist, runs McCue & Associates, an economic and development consulting firm based in Riverside.



Highway 91, a partial toll road, connects Riverside and Orange counties.

On the radar

The Inland Empire's growth has caught the attention of political strategists, but the rapid changes have also created a volatile landscape.



By David
Leshner

For President George Bush, this is not his father's Inland Empire.

Back in 1988, when the elder Bush ran for president, the area was so far off the political radar that White House officials thought they'd need to land Air Force Two in Orange County because they'd never heard of the Ontario Airport, which is actually larger. The last presidential candidate to set foot in the area was Richard Nixon in 1972.

Bush's visit, however, was the first of many for the Inland Empire as Democrats and Republicans redrew their political maps to reflect the wave of migration that crowded into the area since the early 1980s. Population of the Inland Empire has more than doubled since the wave began and today, this area contains about 8 percent of the California electorate.

Bush's 1988 visit was followed later that year by President Ronald Reagan, who made an Inland Empire appearance for the GOP ticket. In the next White House race, Bill Clinton stumped through the area in 1992. Today, George Bush Jr. has already been to the area twice — once for a prominent policy speech during his 2000 campaign and again, earlier this year, for a town hall forum.

"It really had fallen off the map, politically," said Senate Republican Leader Jim Brulte (R-Rancho Cucamonga), who helped coordinate the 1988 Bush visit as an advance staffer on the presidential campaign. "Now, along with the Silicon Valley, the Inland Empire is one of the new must stops for candidates — not only for governor, but for president."

The Inland Empire is still one of the most friendly areas in the state for Republicans. But it is also a critical battleground because of its reputation for swing voters. Since 1990, voters here have backed every winner for governor and U.S. president — three Democrats and three Republicans.

Like the squeaky wheel, swing voters in the Central Valley have become accustomed to election year bus tours and candidate barbecues. They're traditionally Republican, but they've strayed from their partisan roots to support Democrats like Dianne Feinstein and Gray Davis. Now, the Inland Empire appears headed for a similar role in California political strategy.

"A lot of candidates are figuring out that [Inland Empire politics are] not like Orange County or Los Angeles — it's more like Fresno," said Bill Leonard, a Republican



Senator Jim Brulte talking to reporters 1999.

Assemblyman from Rancho Cucamonga. "It's the place where you have to go and make your pitch to every individual voter."

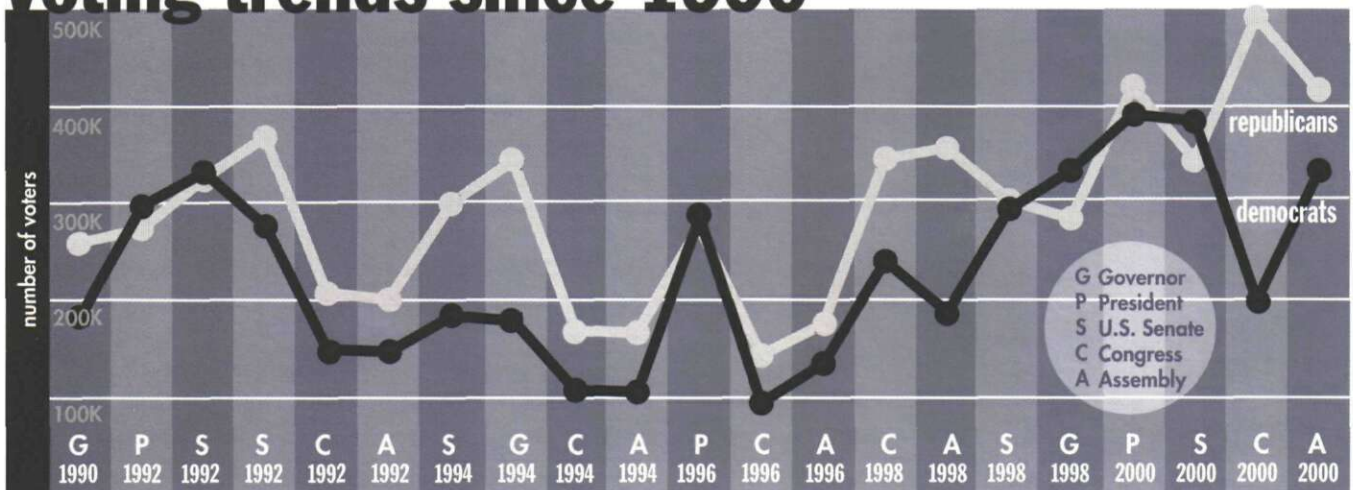
Until recently, the Inland Empire's bellwether reputation was more of a novelty than a strategic consideration. It was a place to watch as an indicator of state trends. But now, if Bill Simon is going to threaten Gray Davis in this year's race for governor, the campaign for the Inland Empire promises to be one of the most hard-fought in the state. Davis carried this area in 1998 and the modern political map of California makes this a must-win for Republicans.

"The Inland Empire is not beholden to anybody," said Leonard. "It swings back and forth between parties and candidates."

The unsettled nature of Inland Empire politics is a direct result of the havoc caused by rapid growth.

Just 20 years ago, this area was reliably Democratic. The party claimed more than half of the voters in the Inland Empire counties of Riverside and San Bernardino

Voting trends since 1990



Source: UC Berkeley Institute for Governmental Studies

and it enjoyed a 10-point margin over Republicans in registration.

Then, housing prices climbed in Orange County and young families from California's GOP stronghold poured into the Inland Empire, turning the local politics around 180 degrees.

Those migrants also helped change the character of the Inland Empire's Republican Party, fostering two decades of in-fighting that continues today. As Orange County refugees, the newcomers were more conservative in outlook than long-time Inland Republicans, and their arrival in large numbers posed political challenges to the area's more moderate Republican "old guard." The factionalism between old and new, moderate and conservative has led to fights that often become both personal and nasty.

In 2000, for instance, conservative Republican Jan Leja won a hard-fought and intense primary in the 65th Assembly District over the more moderate Russ Bough, who once worked for Pete Wilson. Although Leja went on to win the general election, she never took office — thanks to a scandal over her fund-raising operation that prompted investigations by local and state authorities. Leja and her allies privately blamed other GOP factions for drawing attention to financial irregularities in her campaign. Bough won the special election to replace her.

And in 2002, two GOP factions went after each other in the 64th Assembly District primary where one group claimed that the leading conservative candidate — Ray Horspool — was ineligible because he did not really live in the district. A court agreed and tossed Horspool off the ballot. That was supposed to clear the way for moderate Lou Monville. But Horspool's allies — conservative area luminaries such as state Senator Ray Haynes and Assemblyman Dennis Hollingsworth — threw their weight behind a third candidate, John Benoit, who then defeated Monville.

Not that this GOP civil war has done much to help area Democrats. Today, just four of the 20 seats representing this area in Sacramento and Washington are held by Democrats. Republicans have a healthy 5-point lead among

registered voters in the Inland Empire, all it from Riverside. And Democratic registration is just 39 percent.

But the political evolution here isn't over.

Democrats have benefited recently in the area by African Americans moving from Los Angeles. In 1980, blacks were 1.3 percent of the Inland Empire population. By 2000, according to a report by the Public Policy Institute of California in San Francisco, the African American population accounted for about 8 percent of the population.

Also, between 1990 and 2000, a wide majority of the newcomers to the Inland Empire were Hispanic.

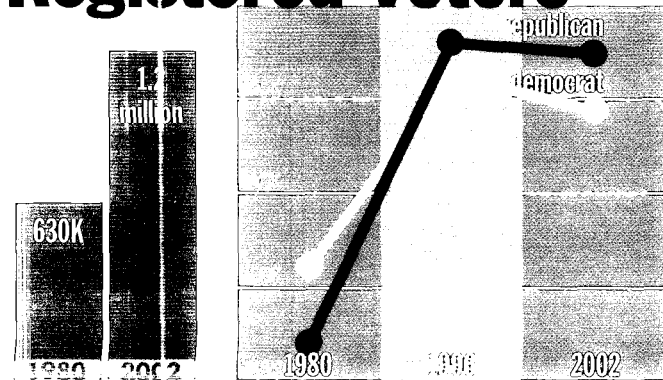
The latest migration trends halted several years of Republican gains in San Bernardino County. And they changed Ontario, once a Republican city by registration, to a Democratic stronghold.

Riverside County, meanwhile, continues to gain Republican registration. But significantly, the number of voters who register as "decline to state" has also increased by nearly 50 percent in both counties in just the last five years.

"It has swung back and forth over the years as influxes take place," said John Longville, a Democratic Assemblyman from Rialto. "The influx of people from Orange County ... produced a bunch of Republicans for a while. The influx of people from LA and from South Central produced an influx of Democrats. So you get both at different times. ... Anybody who tries to pigeon hole the Inland Empire is making a mistake." 🏠

David Lesher is the editor of California Journal. Comments may be sent to edit@statenet.com.

Registered Voters



Source: Secretary of State

The Inland Empire delegation

district	incumbent	party	county*
CD41	John Lewis	R	SB,R
CD42	Gary Miller	R	O,LA,SB
CD43	Joe Baca	D	SB
CD44	Ken Calvert	R	O,R
CD45	Mary Bono	R	R
CD49	Darrel Issa	R	R,SD
SD29	Bob Margett	R	LA,O,SB
SD31	Jim Brulte	R	R, SB
SD32	Nell Soto	D	LA, SB
SD36	Ray Haynes	R	SD,R
SD37	Jim Battin	R	R
AD59	Dennis Mountjoy	R	LA,SB
AD60	Robert Pacheco	R	LA,O,SB
AD61	Gloria McLeod	D	LA,SB
AD62	John Longville	D	SB
AD63	Bill Leonard	R	R,SB
AD64	Rod Pacheco	R	R,SB
AD65	Russ Bough	R	R,SB
AD66	Dennis Hollingsworth	R	R,SD
AD71	Bill Campbell	R	O,R

* R-Riverside, SB-San Bernardino, O-Orange, LA-Los Angeles, SD-San Diego



Connecting California

Civic engagement is on the decline and meaningful broadcast coverage of politics is history. But a new venture by four public TV stations aims to bring a cohesive voice to California's diverse population with lively reporting of public policy issues. If "California Connected" succeeds, it will spring viewers from their living room to the hearing rooms where their voices could make a difference.

By Lisa Plendl

The problems facing California are as diverse as its culture: How will we solve our imposing housing shortage, divvy up our limited water supplies, deal with spiraling growth and diversity? How can we ensure quality education and health care as costs soar? And more broadly, just what does it mean to be a Californian today?

Provocative questions — none with easy answers — but relevant queries nonetheless that were posed recently to a group of California thinkers who gathered in Los Angeles for a discussion about public television's latest series: "California Connected," an ambitious, hour-long, weekly newsmagazine that debuted on PBS stations throughout the state in late April.

"California Connected" is wagering that an innovative and fresh approach to covering news and issues will offer a more attractive alternative to traditional public policy broadcasts. Serving up a blend of "60 Minutes"-like features, roundtable discussion à la the PBS News Hour, with sprinkles of MTV styling and pacing to keep things lively, its producers are setting a new standard for public affairs programming.

But can Californians — denizens of the world's fifth-largest economy — be spoon-fed bites of public policy without feeling like they're gulping castor oil? Also, will they respond to a program that seeks a new role for television journalism — not just reporting a story but also highlighting possible solutions and opportunities for participation?

Those involved say the show's success (and continued funding) may hinge on achieving some lofty goals: spurring passion on topics that usually make viewers snooze; urging them to get involved; offering tools to help make a difference; and in the end, proving to us that despite our diversity, we're all connected.



"It's sort of a grand experiment," said Marley Klaus, a former producer for the CBS newsmagazine "60 Minutes" who was chosen to develop and oversee the new venture. "Can TV reporting make things better? We know it can make things worse."

The show also has nearly 20 advisers from California universities, media, government and other organizations who came together at public television station KCET in Los Angeles for the first time in early April.

The idea for this multifaceted approach to covering California was born out of a study by the James T. Irvine Foundation, one of the series' two key funders. The non-profit, philanthropic organization's 1999 state-of-the-state "scan" looked at major forces shaping California. Growth and diversity were key issues. But the study also found other important trends, such as a lack of civic engagement, disenchantment with politics and the effect of technology on society.

Public television executives were piqued by the provocative research. Could public television help resolve some of the most troubling state trends by presenting long-term policy issues like population growth in a format that would reach a new and wider audience? What if they could get away from the typical hit-and-run way journalists cover issues: identify the problem, assign blame — then move on?

"The idea is that after [hearing about an issue], the public will rise up and fix it," Klaus said, glancing out the window of her corner office at Los Angeles's KCET studios. But more often, she said, people feel disempowered and cynical about their ability to change things.

Public television representatives approached the foundation about working together on a program that would aim at policy solutions and citizen involvement. Irvine initially bankrolled \$600,000 for six months of research and development.

Rethinking public affairs programming

"We wanted to see a different approach to public affairs programming. We weren't interested in the talking heads approach," said Jim Canales, vice president of the foundation, which has funded other public television offerings. "We wanted them to use different mechanisms to report stories and to show the diverse face of California."

Organizers looking for an executive producer snagged Klaus, a dynamo who also launched ABC's "Vital Signs" and other reality TV ventures since leaving "60 Minutes" in the mid-1990s, and Bob Melisso, formerly with CNN.

The Irvine Foundation eventually kicked in \$2 million for production, as did the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation. Though not guaranteed beyond its initial season, the level of funding is comparable to that of National PBS shows like "Nova" and "Frontline" — unheard of for a state public affairs program.

The result is a weekly amalgam of segments in varying formats produced by four separate PBS stations in California — the lead station, KCET in Los Angeles; KVIE in Sacramento; the Bay Area's KQED and KPBS in San Diego.



"California Connected" executive producer Marley Klaus

The program airs at 9:00 p.m. Thursdays on participating channels, and the topics are as broad as the state is long: the problems of children and health care, schools in crisis, population growth, poverty — anything that stems from California public policy or state politics.

The program could not come at a better time, public policy watchers say. Right now, no major television news outlets have bureaus in Sacramento. In the 1980s, those stations began pulling the plug on regular coverage of state government — too dry for many viewers, stations determined.

Another blow to traditional coverage of state politics and other public affairs topics came with the Telecommunication Act of 1996. The act, which deregulated the broadcast medium, basically let commercial television stations "off the hook" for producing such shows, said Robert Finney, professor emeritus of California State University, Long Beach's Radio/TV/Film Department.

Most remaining programming is mere lip service to watered-down FCC regulations, he said. "I call it the public

affairs ghetto. It's Sunday morning, and they typically use the lowest-cost production you can have: two talking heads and a rubber tree plant."

Many similar public television shows have hit the skids, as well. To boost interest, programmers have been forced to rethink the way they cover public policy issues.

David Hosley, president and general manager of Sacramento's KVIE, a co-producer of "California Connected," recently sacked the station's own political roundtable discussion program, "California Capital Week" — then the last remaining program of its kind in Sacramento. "My feeling was that people in the Sacramento

called Safe Haven law, which allows new mothers to leave their newborns at any hospital — no questions asked.

Then there's the Dish. This weekly segment features political journalists in Sacramento, serving up four-to-five-minute bites of commentary and discussion. After a story delved into the problems of troubled Los Angeles schools, for example, the Dish asked reporters to discuss the politics behind the issue.

The show also weaves in interesting facts and figures about the Golden State, its culture and laws. And to further enhance the concept of connecting Californians to their communities, participating PBS stations are airing "Get

"In a state where commercial television has utterly abandoned its obligation to inform people of its government, there's even more reason for public television stations to try to step up and fill that void,"
— Tim Hodson, Center for California Studies

market ... were not interested in conventional political coverage," said Hosley. "If we're going to be successful in talking about policy issues, we have to take a different tack."

The station is trying to do just that, recently launching "New Valley", a series exploring the region's policies through the eyes of individuals affected by them and their own personal stories, he said.

Similarly, "California Connected" frames statewide issues through the eyes of people directly affected. "The stories, as a collection, should tell you something deeper about California and issues facing the state and possible solutions," Klaus said. "They should raise the level of discussion."

The first program covered the state's looming water shortage by focusing on the Salton Sea. The man-made sea, which collects farm irrigation runoff, is at risk of dying because of water allotment plans in the surrounding area. That has implications for farmers, the environment and other water users. The segment was shown through the eyes of farmers and others potentially affected.

In another story, state auditors deemed a middle school in Los Angeles one of the worst in the state. The program follows restoration of the dilapidated campus's facilities and its efforts to boost test scores. Another segment posed this question: Should California force all prison inmates to give DNA samples? Many believe it would allow investigators to solve numerous "cold" or unsolved criminal cases. But is it constitutional?

The program also highlights individuals who see a problem and try to resolve it themselves. Take the woman who created a private cemetery, called "Garden of Angels," for babies who died after they were abandoned by their mothers. A letter to her state senator led to California's so-

Connected Minutes" during daytime programming. Quick news bites tell viewers what's going on locally and how to get involved. That might include PUC hearings scheduled that week, controversy about a leash law or a beach cleanup event.

Californians interacting

The show's Web site, www.californiaconnected.org, is designed to tie the pieces all together, giving viewers a place to sound off, suggest story ideas and guidelines on how to produce their own segments for potential broadcast. It also offers a one-stop shop to find phone numbers, e-mail addresses and other contact information to get involved. The show's taping is also broadcast via live Webcast on Wednesdays at 7 p.m.

Tim Hodson, director of the Center for California Studies at California State University, Sacramento, says the show is a much-needed respite from the dearth of public affairs coverage.

"In a state where commercial television has utterly abandoned its obligation to inform people of its government, there's even more reason for public television stations to try to step up and fill that void," he said.

Among Sacramento insiders, the show was also generally well received, though many aren't necessarily keen on every aspect, such as "California Connected's" so-called Enemy of the State — a transplanted New Yorker whose weekly commentary attempts to spur viewers to discussion by "dissing" all things California.

"People really want [the program] to succeed," said H.D. Palmer, communications director for the state Senate Republican Caucus. "From what I've heard from people who follow public policy in this state, these folks are doing the Lord's work."

But can a show like "California Connected," with all its lofty ambitions, fill the void left as traditional coverage of state politics, talking heads and roundtable-forum public affairs shows continue to disappear from the broadcast landscape?

Television news veteran Jack Kavanagh, who hosted the canceled "California Capital Week," believes it's possible.

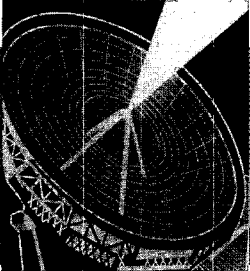
"I know that the concept behind the show is excellent. If they do a good job with the storytelling, they're off to the races ... a lot of people will watch it, it will cross into mainstream material that's out there," said

utes" took five years to establish itself.

"It may take people a while to find us and to understand what we're doing, but they will find us. And when they do, they will come back," she said.

But the truth is that public television lives from hand to mouth. When philanthropic giving tightened after the September 11 terrorist attacks, the two foundations — Irvine and Hewlett — agreed to fund the entire first season on their own. But neither foundation has committed beyond the initial episodes. And others were wary about committing too early.

"Other funders appear interested in seeing the actual



"keep in mind that good storytelling is very, very hard to do. It takes a lot of resources, a lot of time, a lot of money and the right talent to do it."

— Jack Kavanagh, *Rough & Tumble*

Kavanagh, who runs Sacramento's *Rough & Tumble* Web site, a roundup of state politics and policy news. "But keep in mind that good storytelling is very, very hard to do. It takes a lot of resources, a lot of time, a lot of money and the right talent to do it."

If the storytelling does resonate, Kavanagh expects the show might take six weeks to a year to get its "footing" with an audience. With a prime-time slot on Thursdays and strong lead-in shows on some participating stations (PBS's "Frontline," and "Living Edens," for example, run immediately before "California Connected" in Los Angeles and Sacramento, respectively), he says, chances are much improved.

Finney, who also produced local public affairs programs for public television in the 1970s, said he's impressed with the production values and depth of "California Connected's" early efforts. But can it continue to grow into the model that show producers are shooting for? "That's the \$64 question," he says, adding that public television's limited audience is further narrowed when pitted against network shows. *California Connected* plays against top-rated "CSI" and "Will & Grace."

Early on, the show was getting decent ratings for its time slot, but not yet the 1.5 percent of the viewing audience producers are shooting for.

Measuring success

"The ratings are showing us that it's hard to debut a new program in sweeps [May ratings month], and especially on Thursday night, where NBC has a juggernaut," Hosley noted after broadcast of "California Connected's" second show. In San Francisco and Los Angeles, the program pulled decent ratings, (1.4 and .9 percent, respectively). But the average statewide share was .75 — half of "California Connected's" target.

Klaus, a driven perfectionist, reminds that "60 Min-

utes" took five years to establish itself. "California Connected," said the Irvine Foundation's Canales. "They'll want to see the impact it is having."

The Irvine Foundation will measure success in several ways. "I would hope that the extent to which policy-makers, researchers, nonprofit and business leaders begin to see 'California Connected' as an important channel to get connected and to share their stories and ideas with each other, that would be enormously valuable," Canales said. "That will be proven over time by the quality of the journalism and by the extent to which others see this program as a valuable model."

Ultimately, it's the average Joe's response that may carry the most weight. Has the level of discussion about the issues been raised? Do people have more access to relevant information? Do Californians feel more connected to the political process, to our culture and to each other? And, most difficult, how do you measure that beyond viewer ratings and Web site hits?

Tracking the number of people who attend public hearings advertised on the Web site might be one such measure of the show's effectiveness, Canales said. Ongoing discussion and reaction posted by viewers online may be another.

In any case, said Canales, it's best to observe one of the golden virtues of good philanthropy: Patience. "All in all, a solid start, I thought, but it's still too early after one episode to render a definitive judgment, in my view." The decision for further funding will likely come this summer.

If funders do give the nod, the series' next season will begin in the fall and include about 37 episodes.

"I can't say we're going to be perfect, but we're going to be trying," Klaus says.

Lisa Plendl is a freelance writer in Long Beach. Comments may be sent to edit@statenet.com.

Ward Connerly is talking about race again. Depending on your opinion of him, it is either an admirable effort to force Californians to deal with an uncomfortable subject or further proof that he is among those trying to work out personal issues through the initiative process.

I write with some consternation on this matter after having ruined several dinner parties by bringing up Connerly's latest handiwork — a measure that would bar the state from classifying individuals by race, ethnicity, color or national origin. Patterned after Proposition 209, which was approved by voters in 1996, the proposed initiative now awaits signature verification by election officials. If approved, it will land on the ballot for either November's general election or the March 2004 primary.

Like most initiatives, this one suffers from various loophole and interpretation problems that transcend its subject matter. It has exemptions; it allows the Legislature, upon a two-thirds vote, to enact other exemptions, and in that sneaky sort of initiative-language-way, it slips in something that isn't quite expected. (Section "g" prevents the state from banning racial profiling by local law-enforcement agencies.) And finally, as a constitutional amendment, the initiative would require another initiative to undo it.

All of that is a recipe for lousy policy and unintended consequences, but none of it is what made my dinner guests edgy.

What raised their concerns were all the data-collection problems Connerly's initiative seems to invite; and, of course, the notion that in a society where any kind of discrimination still exists, getting the numbers right matters. What raised their hackles and eventually brought the conversation to an awkward halt was the topic of Connerly himself, or more specifically, his motives and background. I'm still puzzling about whether that means the problem is the message or just the messenger. My friends would say both. In any event, the data-collection issue is real.

Here's the short course: The initiative would allow law-enforcement agencies to use racial information for descriptions of individuals, but it would prohibit those same agencies from collecting information about the racial or ethnic mix of their own employees. Data collected in compliance with federal programs or to receive federal funding would be exempt. Data collected by the

state's Fair Employment and Housing Department to enforce anti-discrimination laws would be exempt for 10 years. After that, a majority of the Legislature and the governor would have to approve further exemptions for that department. As for other kinds of state data, two-thirds vote of the Legislature would have to agree to permit collection of information on race, ethnicity and national origin.

The initiative provides exemptions for "otherwise lawful classification" of medical research subjects and patients. Health professionals say the exemption is too narrow and would interfere with detailed studies on how various diseases affect different racial groups.

Jean Ross, director of the California Budget Project, was helpful in describing what some of the state data collection restrictions might mean for social scientists. "Schools are state data," she said. "If I want to say that, under the governor's performance-award program, more money goes to schools with high percentages of white students, I need to be able to correlate test scores with student characteristics. I can't just assume that neighbor-

hood characteristics match a particular school site because it doesn't work that way in California anymore. Without the data you can't document disparities in public policy. The disparities will still be there, you just won't be able to document them, and you become just another shrill voice making an argument."

How lay voters should parse all that is presumably what the initiative campaign will be about — that, and perhaps a refresher course from the Proposition 209 campaign on Connerly's background as a businessman whose firm benefitted from minority set-aside contracts.

As for the vexing questions Connerly raises in his interview with editors of this magazine, the answers perhaps lie in the poignancy of his own experience. We can't decree that individuals be color blind, only that they behave as if they were. Paradoxically, the mechanisms we have to enforce that sensibility require us to be color conscious. It's an imperfect, sometimes offensive bargain.

The alternative is worse. 🏛️

Contributing editor Susan Rasky teaches at the University of California, Berkeley, Graduate School of Journalism. Comments on this column may be sent to edit@statenet.com.

by Susan Rasky



Is race irrelevant?

California's next debate about race will ask whether government should know your heritage. Here, Ward Connerly offers the case for his Racial Privacy Initiative

The latest U.S. Census made it official: California is the first state in America without a majority ethnic population. It is a landmark that culminates a time of rapid, dynamic and major change in California — not all of it smooth. The last decade saw traumatic public debates about whether taxpayers should fund health, education and other benefits for illegal immigrants, whether schools

should teach bilingual education and whether women and minorities should receive preferences in university admissions, government contracts and jobs. This month, state officials will determine whether another in California's series of racially charged ballot measures has qualified for the upcoming November election. The Racial Privacy Initiative, as its authors have named it, "prohibits state [and] local governments from using race, ethnicity, color or national origin to classify current or prospective students, contractors, or employees in public education, contracting or employment operations." In other words, it would eliminate the boxes on myriad government forms, applications and paperwork that currently identify the author's race. It is a debate that is likely to be inflammatory.

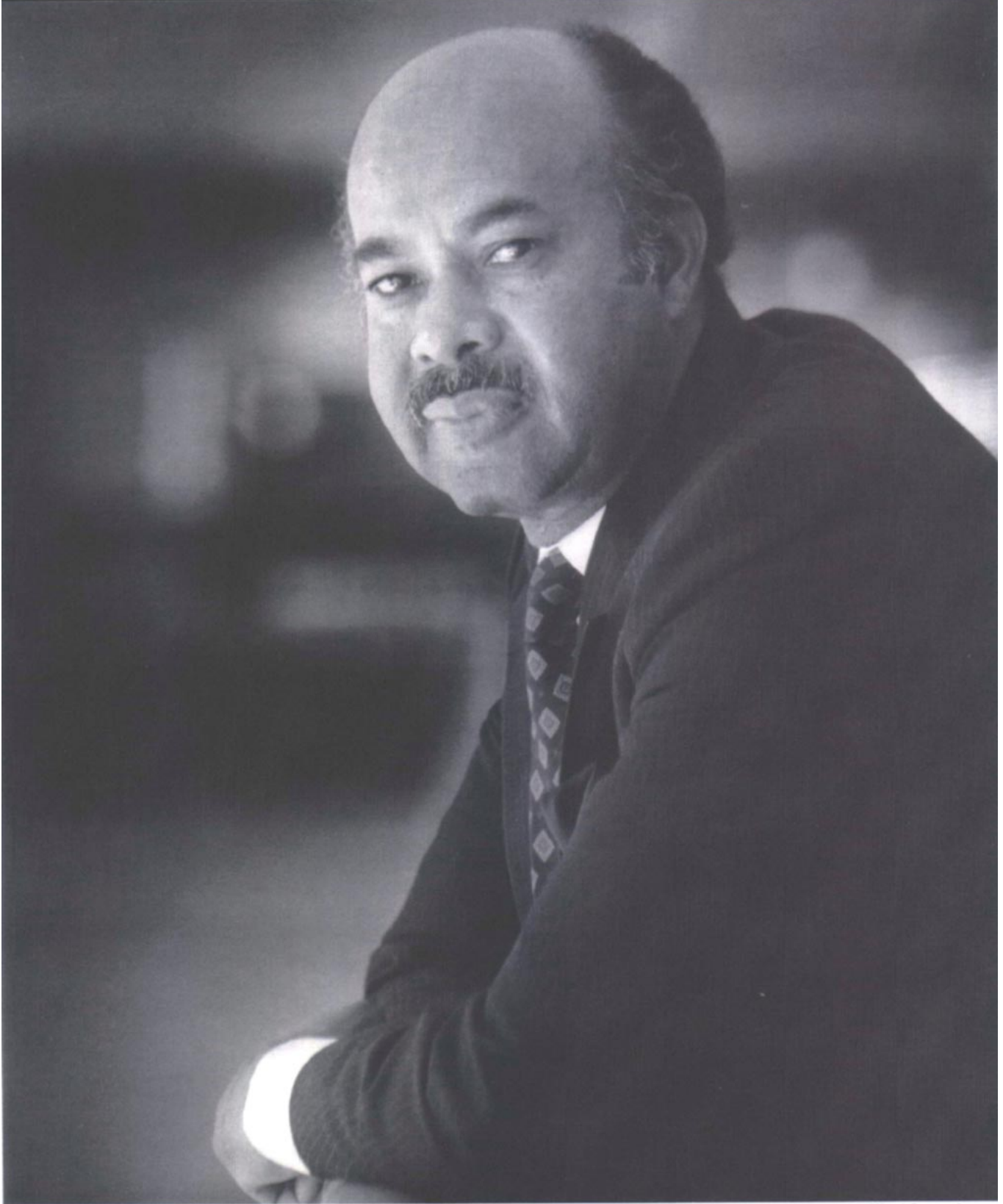
The measure's sponsor is Ward Connerly, a University of California regent and the chief sponsor of the 1996 proposition that ended affirmative action programs in California. He says in this interview with *California Journal*, race today is "irrelevant." It is not a factor that should be considered in government decisions, and it is no longer valid in a society that has a large and growing multi-racial population, he claims. Government data collection about race, however, has been a critical tool for numerous landmark policy and court decisions. Opponents of the measure are concerned that it will remove a critical tool for detecting problems and identifying solutions on a range of topics like housing, poverty, education, public safety and health care. Supporters of the initiative submitted more than 1 million signatures to

state elections' officials, more than enough to qualify the measure for the ballot if they are affirmed in the validation process that is underway. Debate about the idea has also not yet reached the public arena. In May, however, the independent Field Poll found roughly half of the state's registered voters support the idea and about one third are opposed. The support was widespread, spanning both Republicans and Democrats, all age groups and nearly every region of the state. White voters backed the idea in equal proportion to Latinos while African Americans were evenly split and Asian voters were opposed. If the measure qualifies, state voters will once again face a provocative and wrenching, and perhaps divisive, confrontation about race, melting pots and what it means to be a Californian today.

Q: Why did you launch the Racial Privacy Initiative?

A: I think we need to bring the governmental sector into line with what happens in our private lives. As a private businessman, I can't ask anybody about their race when I interview them for a job. Yet my government feels it needs to have that information. And often, it is just pure garbage, because what is an African American? What is a Latino? Is somebody from Cuba — fair skinned, blonde hair — just as much of a Latino, subject to the same treatment in our society as somebody from Mexico, with dark skin? No. So these definitions, these classifications are just downright silly. So we need to get beyond them and to bring the public sector into line with what is really happening in the private world.

Interview
with
California
Journal



Ward Connerly

The Racial Privacy Initiative is the brainchild of yours truly. It is designed to gradually move from this race-obsessed governmental sector, to one where, as John F. Kennedy said in 1963, race has no place in American life or law. That is what it is designed to do. And here are its major features.

The government shall not classify, profile, sort people on the basis of race, color, ethnicity or national origin in public education, public contracting or public employment. That parallels [the anti-affirmative action laws adopted in the 1996] Proposition 209. Proposition 209 says you can't treat

people differently, you can't give a preference, you can't discriminate. So why do you need the data? Now, our opponents will have an argument that we need to have the data to know how well we are doing. What do you mean how well we're doing? ... What value is derived from collecting data, espe-

cially when the data going in is often just pure garbage? The largest growing sector, demographic group, at the University of California is those who decline to state [a racial category]. And then the insult is that after they decline to state, the university distributes them among the different groups who do state.

Q: Are there exceptions in the initiative for collecting racial data for special purposes?

A: In areas other than public education — public contracting, public employment — the prohibition [against racial data collection] applies except when the Legislature, by a two-thirds vote in both houses and with the concurrence of the governor, can find that there is a compelling state interest for the data. They can override the prohibition of the Racial Privacy Initiative and then mandate the collection of the data and sort it on that basis. I don't know what would be compelling, but this is trying to provide a reasonable approach. We [also] exempt medical treatment and medical research for obvious reasons. If there is any legitimacy to this concept of race, it is that there are illnesses endemic to some certain, quote, groups. We don't want anyone to be at risk because they were admitted to the hospital and someone says there was a disease that is really endemic to this group and we didn't know that and the patient died. We provide that escape. We also provide an exemption for the state Department of Fair Employment and Housing. This is the state's chief anti-discrimination watchdog. We want to make sure they are left in business to investigate claims of discrimination.

Q: How would government enforce or detect discrimination laws if it cannot track racial patterns?

A: If I believe that I've been discriminated against because of my religion, let's say, or because of my sexual orientation or because of my age or because of my disability, the government doesn't have that [data collection] information to begin with. I have to go in and say, I believe that there was discrimination. Somebody follows

Race needs to be accorded the same status or non status as religion, political affiliation, sexual orientation.

up on that. We're saying, treat race the same way. It's an individual matter, an individual complaint. Race needs to be accorded the same status or non-status as religion, political affiliation, sexual orientation.

Q: There are purposes for this information beyond those you talk about. Is there any reason for government to track for historical purposes?

A: I can't find any. As the population is changing, how do you track my grandkids who are part Vietnamese, part Irish, part Native American, part African descent? As the population is changing because of its fluidity, and as the anthropologists and scientists are saying that race is largely social, you're tracking a moving target, constantly. So I don't know what historical benefit there is. If social scientists want to do that, they can do that. But the government is saying we are not going to do that.

Q: Regarding issues like housing, do you think we should detect problems and target solutions based on economic indicators and not racial measures?

A: Yeah. And I think that by doing that we get more of a consensus from people to solve the problem. If we are continually saying we have this problem of black people, number one, then black people see themselves as almost forever consigned to this status of not being able to make it. And a lot of middle-class people really get a little bit impatient with all of this emphasis on helping that group.

Q: What about a study that indicates Hispanics have a high dropout rate in school? Does it help to know that this rate is high among this group?

A: If Hispanics are dropping out at a higher rate, it would be interesting to know if these are people from

Mexico who don't speak good English and the man in the household doesn't want his daughter to go to school. There are all kinds of reasons involved, but to say that the dropout rate of Hispanics is yada yada is virtually meaningless. ... We've looked at race-based [university] admissions and why the gap between black and white and black and Asian is widening, despite the fact the black middle class is growing and the opportunities are there. Anybody who wants to get an education in California can get it. It is not a lack of resources. Some of our lowest K-12 school districts get some of the highest funding. So it's not a linkage between race and performance. It's income, whether their parents went to college. Those kinds of factors are very relevant.

Q: Will the debate over this initiative be divisive along racial lines, as Proposition 209 was?

A: Well, I don't have any misgivings about the quality of the public debate about 209. Even in our worst moment, we learn something. This, I think, promises to be one of the best public debates about race and going to the core of what race is — what is it? Am I different because my skin color is different from the majority in this room? Does that somehow make me different? Is there really a black race? I think it will be a good debate. It doesn't bother me that it's divisive. Public policy is divisive. We tend to run away from tough issues because, oh boy, it might be divisive. And my party is one that I am fighting with constantly because they are twisting themselves into a pretzel about not being divisive on certain issues but terribly divisive on other issues. I don't think this debate will be as personal as 209 to the different, quote, groups. When you talk about affirmative action, there is the belief that you are taking something

away. You are taking away a benefit that black people, that women, that Hispanics were presumed to be receiving. It was nonsense, but that was the campaign they could wage. It's going to be pretty difficult to make that case here. There are an awful lot of black people of my generation who hate the one-drop rule. The American Civil Liberties Union, which will oppose this issue, for years argued that racial classifications shouldn't be on government forms. The National Association of Colored People had the same position. Our opposition will come from that triumvirate of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, ACLU and NAACP. And the reason is that they know that benefits flow from the classifications.

Q: Describe the "one-drop" rule.

A: I have two grandparents who are at least half Irish, one of them is half Choctaw, [and] only one grandparent I have is of the African descent. I love them all. I am proud of them all. But every time, the story is Ward Connerly, the black [University of California] regent, the African-American regent. It's the one-drop rule. And the minute that my granddaughter, Katie, is known to be a descendant of Ward Connerly, she is African American. It's not a matter of my detectors saying, you don't want to be black. You don't have any ethnic pride ... No, it's not that. It's a matter of choice. It's a matter of being whatever you want to be. And you don't have to be anything. I have no allegiance to any group. I have no desire to be attached to any group. That's just my part-libertarian instinct.

Q: What is the legal precedent for this initiative? A lot of landmark court decisions have been based on racial data collection. If this passes and it is challenged in court, how do you think it will stand up to legal scrutiny?

A: I don't know. First of all, you know there is going to be a challenge. There's never been an initiative yet where there hasn't been a challenge. So there is going to be a challenge. We are breaking new ground here a little bit, and I don't know what the courts would do. This isn't about preferences,

this is about the very system of sorting people and classifying them by these traits. It's fundamental. You can almost see the briefs right now. What is race, your honor? Is it the color of my skin? Well, if that's the case, what about Colin Powell in relation to Oprah Winfrey? What is race? Is it about nose size? Well, we can change that, you know. Is it hair texture? So you can almost see right now the questions emerging. What is race? And the anthropologists are just rubbing their palms now because they have been saying for a long time that the differences within these races are far greater than the differences between the races. In Wisconsin, you can change your race three times a year. If it's that fluid, what is this all about? You can change your race three times for school purposes.

Q: According to the title of the initiative, you are casting this as a privacy issue. Do you think you'll be successful in casting this as a privacy issue instead of a racial one?

A: I think so. The surveys that we've done ... suggest that people do see their race as a private issue. ... And when you ask them what is their race, it's like asking, how much money do you make? Most people resent it. Why

do you want to know? I think it will not be difficult at all to argue that it's none of the government's business.

Q: What did polls say about the initiative's popularity?

A: It is very popular.

Q: So do you think the race will be close or not?

A: I think [the initiative] will pass overwhelmingly. We get on the ballot, and we will argue what it is, that the government ought to treat race the way it treats religion and political affiliation and sexual orientation. And the other side will say this is the most draconian concept to come along. One of them will say we won't be able to track infant mortality any more and we'll have no way of knowing whether discrimination occurs and that will take them into the area of preferences and that, then, will force me to say, yeah, I know what you want to do with this information. But that isn't where I want the debate to go. I want it to stay on why is it relevant for the government? Why is it compelling to know? Is it just curiosity? You can't do anything with it in public education, public contracting and public employment. So, are you just curious about it? 🏠



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Leaving California

For decades, California absorbed waves of new residents from across the country and around the world. That changed dramatically in the 1990s. Latest U.S. Census data show that although the state still grew by 4 million people, there was, for the first time, a tremendous outflow to the rest of the country.

It was a spectacular shift in California demographics, and the changes were not spread evenly across the state. California has always been known for its natural, economic and population diversity, but new data show a state whose regions are growing further and further apart.

In 1969, for example, the wealthiest region of the state, the Bay Area, had a per capita income about 10 percent higher than the state as a

Demography in California was once about as predictable as the weather. America's western migration reliably flowed into the state, growing the cities and suburbs. In the last decade, however, the patterns changed dramatically. Now, the complex trends underway have critical implications for life in the Golden State.

By Hans P. Johnson,
PPIC Demographer

whole, while the poorest region, the San Joaquin Valley, had a per capita income about 20 percent lower than the state. By 1999, however, the gap widened tremendously, with the Bay Area showing a per capita income almost 40 percent higher than the state average, and the San Joaquin Valley reporting a per capita income more than 30 percent below the state average.

The population shift was also far more pronounced in the South Coast area than elsewhere. Most of those who left the state emigrated from Los Angeles and the surrounding counties. Remarkably, however, the South Coast area today is still home to more people than Illinois—the nation's fifth largest state—and its population density is almost twice that of New Jersey, the most densely populated state in America. At the other extreme, barely a million people live in the state's Far North, an area about the physical size of Pennsylvania. And in the Sierras, population density is less than in North Dakota.

To look at the differences between California regions, this report divides the state into nine parts—the Far North (spanning the state above

The uneven growth rates are demonstrated by the fact that four of California's regions — the Inland Empire, Sacramento Metro, San Joaquin

The five other regions grew more slowly primarily because so many residents left during the severe recession of the early 1990s. The exodus was

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Regional Map



migrants more than offset the domestic migration losses in the Bay Area and was about equal to them in the Central Coast and San Diego.

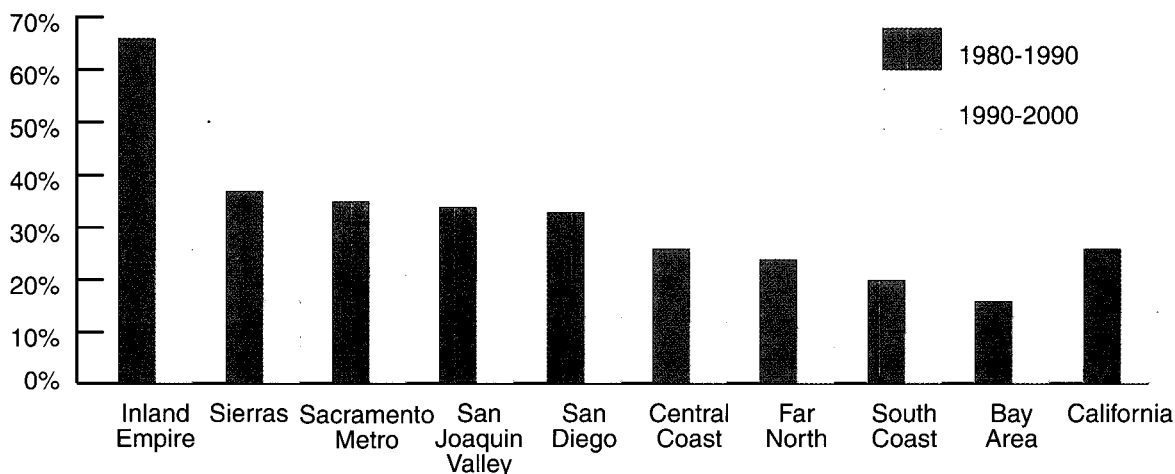
Significant housing differences between the regions also caused the population shifts to result in a variety of experiences. During the 1990s, California's population grew by 13.8 percent, but the number of total housing units only grew by 9.2 percent. In all but one region, growth in population outpaced housing. (In contrast, the rest of the country experienced slightly more growth in housing than population — 13.4 percent to 13.2 percent).

As a result, across the state, households got bigger, vacancy rates dropped, and more housing units were built. But the impact varied by region.

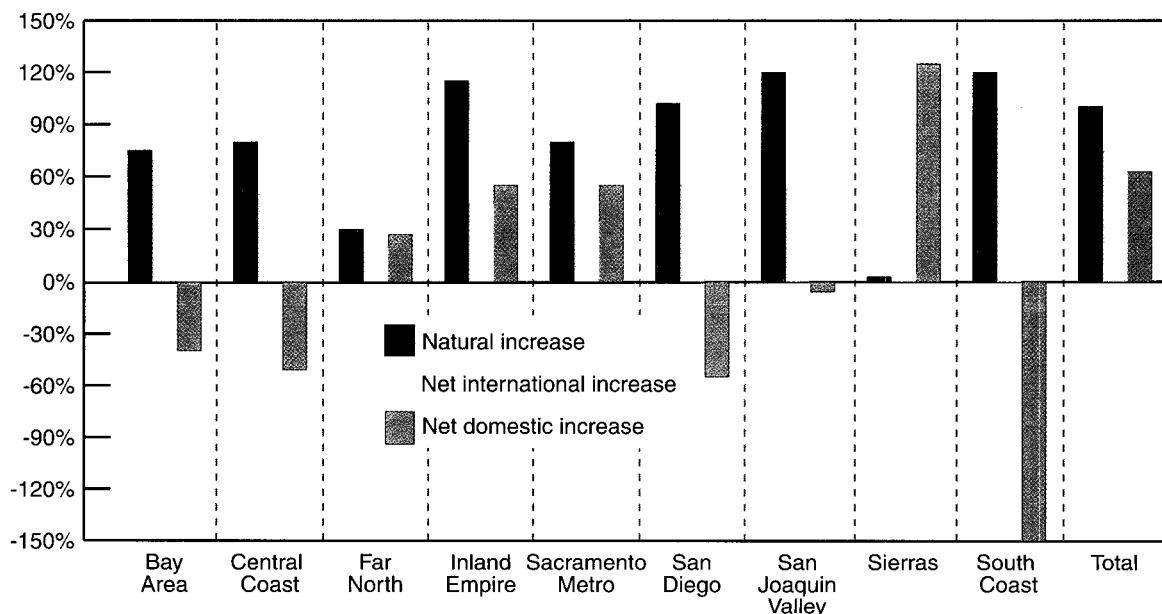
In the South Coast, almost half the population growth was accommodated by pre-existing housing units — that is, the size of households increased and the number of unoccupied housing units decreased. The Inland Empire and San Joaquin Valley saw the largest increases in number of people per household. In every region except the Far North and San Joaquin Valley, the percentage of unoccupied housing units fell.

The South Coast and Bay Area — two regions that already had few vacant households — experienced the smallest housing growth during the decade. In fact, for every four new residents in the Bay Area there was only a single new home, and in the South Coast the ratio was five new residents for every new home.

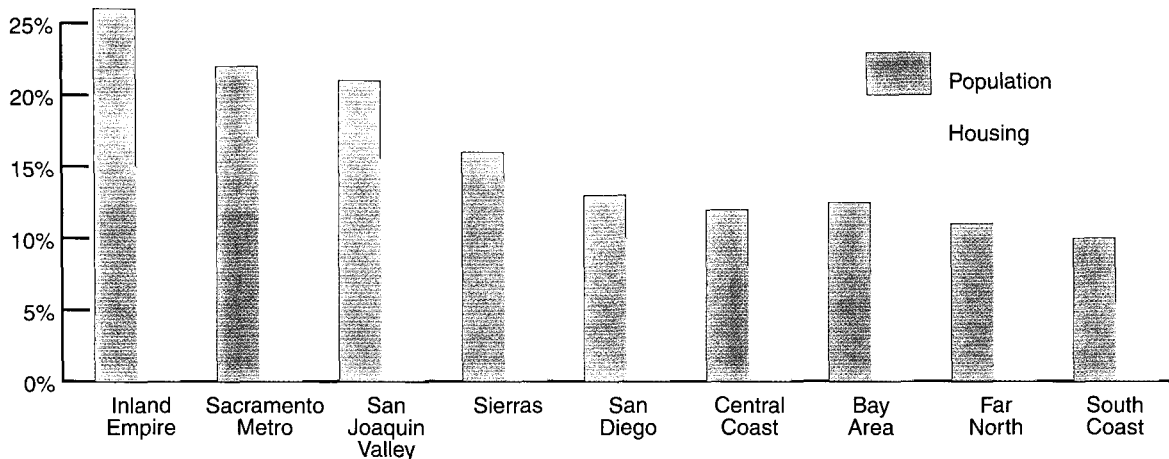
Population change, 1980 to 2000



Factors affecting population change, 1990-1999



Population
and
housing
changes,
1990-2003



If population growth is putting this kind of pressure on housing, what of the labor market? Historically, jobs have been the migration magnet of California. Relatively few people move here for retirement. But jobs also varied sharply by region. In some areas, the question is whether there are enough people to fill all the jobs, while in other regions the question is whether there are enough jobs to accommodate the people.

The Bay Area and San Diego added relatively few people for each new job created during the decade, suggesting either an increase in commuters from outside the regions or an increase in labor force participation rates in those regions. At the other extreme, the South Coast and the Sierras added quite a few people for each new job. Job growth was particularly

anemic in Los Angeles County, which by 2000 still had not fully recovered from the job losses of the recession.

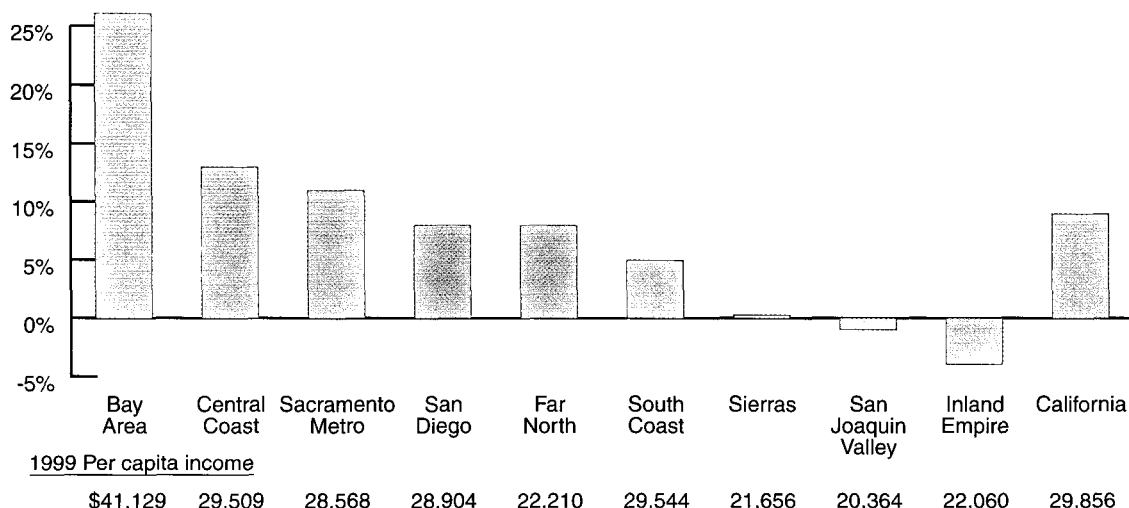
One of the most troubling phenomena of California's last decade is the widening gap in incomes between the regions. In inflation-adjusted terms, per capita incomes have *declined* in the Inland Empire and San Joaquin Valley, whereas they have risen dramatically in the Bay Area. The Inland Empire, Sierras and Far North joined the San Joaquin Valley as the poorest regions in the state.

Another alarming trend is the fact that two of the fastest-growing regions — the San Joaquin Valley and the Inland Empire — have such low and declining incomes. It suggests those areas will have fewer resources to prepare for growth than other regions that are experiencing far less growth.

The widening gap between California regions poses an increasingly complex set of problems for state policymakers. For example, how should government provide the infrastructure needed to accommodate the dramatically different trends in housing, jobs and income? How do you encourage economic development for the wide range of needs in different regions? State lawmakers are pondering these questions and more today. Their decisions will set a new course for California as it passes through this historic crossroads. 🏠

Hans Johnson is a demographer and research fellow at the Public Policy Institute of California (PPIC). His recent publication, A State of Diversity: Demographic Trends in California's Regions, can be found at www.ppic.org.

Per capita
income
change,
1990-2000



Source: Public Policy Institute of California

Bush and the environment

When Earth Day rolled around last April, President George W. Bush figured he would give Americans — particularly those with any doubts about his environmental credentials — a glimpse of their leader in hiking attire, trekking in the Adirondacks and extolling the great outdoors.

But when the big day arrived, the temperatures took a dive, and the president's conservation speech was delivered from inside a ski lodge. All Americans got was Bush hammering nails along a trail as he intoned, "Every day is Earth Day."

California environmentalists issued a metaphor alert: For them, it was fitting that Bush's carefully staged event should fizzle because, in their minds, so have his environmental credentials.

Depending on whom you speak with, Bush's 18 months in office have either saved paperwork, time and tax money, making it easier for builders to create jobs and stimulate the economy. Or, they have made California's most sensitive lands vulnerable to those who would replace them with malls, roads and houses. Agencies answering to the Republican president have relaxed or removed protections for some of the state's most environmentally sensitive land. They have eased up on those responsible for sewage spills and on power plants that failed to adopt clean technology. Lately, they are trying to eliminate the jobs of people who enforce the nation's environmental laws.

One example of these environmental roll-backs involves wetlands, the tree- and plant-rich lands that hug creeks, rivers or coastal marshes home to migratory geese and mallards. The plants and soils in these wetlands filter water before it ever reaches a reservoir — removing pesticides, oils and animal wastes that would otherwise have to be filtered out mechanically, and at some cost.

After decades of intense shoreline construction, California has lost about 70 percent of its wetlands. For years, federal law protected what remained by requiring a developer who disturbed a half-acre of wetlands to create another half-acre somewhere else. But a new rule — published by Bush's EPA last autumn in the Federal Register — significantly relaxes these protections. Under the new policy, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers can waive the requirement entirely, or simply let developers plant trees that buffer an existing wetland against wastes from nearby developments.

One federal official acknowledged that even

under the former, stricter policy, the government did a poor job of replacing wetlands lost to development. But the same official explained that, because it is difficult to build new wetlands in much of arid California, it is more practical to improve or better protect existing ones.

A similar action would affect vernal pools, the small ponds of rainwater considered critical to the recovery of species such as the tiny fairy shrimp and the spreading navarretia. Federal law protects these pools, which are called "critical habitat," from any builder who gets permits or money from

Washington. But prodded by builders who believed the regulations were overly zealous, a federal judge in February removed that protection for more than half a million acres of Southern California land while the Bush administration rewrites the rules for critical habitat. This means that for the next 18 months, a developer does not have to consult environmental authorities before building a road through a vernal pool, as long as the pool is not currently home to imperiled wildlife.

There is more: -

- Before he left office, President Bill Clinton proposed making it harder for cities to defend against sewage spills, which have become a persistent problem where aging sewer lines regularly dump raw effluent into surrounding waters. Now, the Bush administration may allow cities to avoid fines for some spills, particularly if spills happen while a city is renovating a sewer system.

- Soon, the EPA will stop filing lawsuits against aging power plants that fail to use the cleanest available technologies. Instead, the Bush administration will encourage companies to voluntarily reduce pollutants. The news comes as air pollution remains a severe problem in California's rapidly growing inland regions.

- Bush also wants to cut \$12 million from the \$192 million that states receive in FY 2002 to enforce the Clean Water Act. In California, that money supports regional water quality control boards, which enforce clean-water laws by fining polluters.

As environmentalists see it, Americans don't need photos of Bush in the Adirondacks; they need a picture of how his policies are soiling and eroding California's signature landscape.

For the next 18 months, a developer does not have to consult environmental authorities before building a road through a vernal pool.

by Dana Wilkie



Contributing editor Dana Wilkie is a Washington, D.C., correspondent for Copley News Service.

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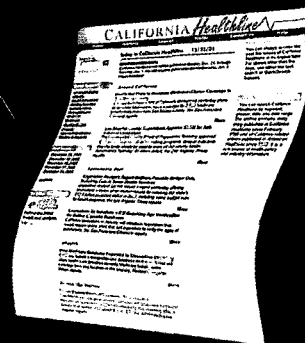


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Flower power

It took Sept. 11 to convince legislators that a protective barrier around Capitol park was worth the money and aesthetic sacrifice. Five years ago they rejected installing a wrought-iron fence. Even after a trucker rammed the south wall in January of 2001, they snubbed a CHP proposal for 800 metal posts to outline the tree-studded grounds. Ultimately, flowers won out. Now the agreed-upon plan calls for 600 concrete bollards disguised as flower pots and another 40 metal posts to surround the Capitol grounds. The price: \$2.7 million in one-time installation costs and \$150,000 annually to keep the flowers blooming.



California colleges with most foreign students

USC	5,321
STANFORD	2,805
SANTA MONICA CITY COLLEGE	2,939
UC BERKELEY	2,598
UCLA	2,493

Proctoring foreign students

With over 74,000 foreign students attending California's public and private colleges, federal plans to clamp down on student visas to combat terrorism will have no greater impact than here. Some \$1.5 billion annually in tuition and living expenses is spent by students from abroad, so it's no surprise that higher education representatives are wary of measures that go too far in deterring foreign students. Starting next year, colleges and universities will be required to report students with visas who fail to enroll and who fail to depart. A new interagency federal panel will also screen foreign students enrolling in certain science and technology fields that could expose sensitive security information.



Marching to a different beat

While most of the protest — both for and against Israeli actions — was lodged on college campuses this spring, some, like the April 20th rally in San Francisco, entered the civic realm. Police and rally organizers differ on how many people — 20,000 or 35,000 — attended the massive demonstration to protest President Bush's war on terrorism and his support of Israel. Both agree, however, that it, along with a sister rally the same day in Washington, D.C., made history as the largest outcry yet in support of Palestinian rights. Marchers in San Francisco stretched like a ribbon weaving end-to-end over two miles from Delores Park in the Mission District to the downtown civic center.

**STOP the BUSH/SHARON
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Law enforcement high

High-tech's crashed and the bloom is off the economy. But there's more to the rapid rise in applicants who want a career patrolling the streets, say law enforcement officials, than the average Joe looking for work. A surge in desire to protect the public since Sept. 11 has a lot to do with it. Nearly 200 people applied for 38 positions with the Sacramento Police Dept. The California Highway Patrol reports a 60% increase in applications over last year. And the FBI, including its four branches in California, has gained respectability as a career choice. Some 500 applications poured into the San Diego office alone by February. FBI wannabes take note. Your resumé attractiveness improves with fluency in Arabic, Farsi, Pashtu or Urdu.

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